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Delegate Obukhov Views Progress of Arms Talks

PM230851 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 88 Second Edition p 6

[Special correspondent in Geneva V. Bolshakov report under the rubric "This Multifaceted Globe": "'The Main Thing Now Is Not To Waste Time...'"; including interview with A.A. Obukhov, head of the Soviet delegation at the talks with the United States on nuclear and space weapons]

[Text] In this city, the capital of international negotiations, the working day is long. I have an appointment at 1800 hours at the USSR mission with A.A. Obukhov, head of the Soviet delegation at the talks with the United States on nuclear and space weapons. I arrive in good time, but, literally in front of my nose, a Cadillac of the latest model with a U.S. Geneva mission license plate drives into the USSR mission grounds. I might have guessed: someone to see Obukhov. The latest unscheduled meeting with the Americans. Naturally, my appointment is postponed. It takes place late at night, toward 11 o'clock.

Obukhov is talking to one of his aides. I catch a scrap of the conversation: "I would like to ask you a private question, Aleksey Aleksandrovich. On Item 11 of the treaty..."

The "disarmament people"—this is how this constantly growing category of military men, diplomats, and experts who are drafting the texts of future disarmament treaties and agreements are referred to—do not like to speak about their work. As a rule, they try to get away with a general statement such as: "We have no private life." The "private question" in any case turns out to be official business.

"Well," I say, "I can now see for myself that one of our readers, who wrote in his letter to PRAVDA that your work was like a stroll on the banks of Lake Geneva with zero results in disarmament, was quite wrong...."

Obukhov is frowning. That stung him.

"I understand," he replies, "that there is a big demand for critical topics. Nonetheless, in the age of glasnost I would not publish such letters. And I stress—especially in the age of glasnost. I am against them not because I think our delegation and its work should be beyond criticism. I am against them because such items distort the true picture. Not to mention the fact that in purely human terms they are insulting. We do not write letters to PRAVDA. But I will say this to you. Since last September we have been working from 9 o'clock in the morning, finishing at 11 o'clock at night if we are lucky, and sometimes not until after midnight. During the last stage of the finalization of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, signed in Washington last year, we were getting 2-3 hours' sleep and sometimes no sleep at all. Some sessions were scheduled for 1 am. And not because we were unable to organize our working day. It simply could not be avoided."

[Bolshakov] And now?

[Obukhov] There is a vast amount of work. The treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles ran to some 160 pages. Every line had to be agreed upon. That applies to both us and the Americans. And sometimes it had to be done two or three times over. We now have a considerable amount of experience and we should be able to proceed faster. On the other hand, the text of the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms will be longer, some 200 pages or more. The volume of material to be agreed upon is incredible. I have been in 'disarmament' since 1969. I have plenty to compare with. I was there during the negotiations of SALT I and SALT II. I will cite a figure which not many people know. SALT II took 7 years to prepare. On average we had four meetings a week with the Americans during the preparation of that treaty. Now we have meetings 15 times a week. And sometimes more.

[Bolshakov] You mean, the workload is growing?

[Obukhov] Yes. No "medical norms" are observed. Rumor has it that there have been several cases of acute overexhaustion among the Americans. In general, this work is not exactly conducive to health. But, mind you, no one is complaining. People understand that this work is of enormous importance. We are trying to fit in with the tight deadlines that we have been set. And we hope to achieve success, although...

[Bolshakov] Here is an interesting point. Very little time remains before President Reagan's visit to Moscow. Meanwhile reports have been appearing in the international press with increasing frequency, expressing doubts that the treaty on strategic offensive arms will be ready on time. And now you too are saying "although..."

[Obukhov] I am not trying to dramatize the situation. But I get the impression that the Americans are wavering, that they are no longer sure whether it is worth trying to get the agreement on strategic offensive arms ready by the set deadline, that is by R. Reagan's visit to Moscow. We would like our partners to dispel this impression as quickly as possible by actions rather than words.

[Bolshakov] This impression has not arisen out of thin air, of course. Perhaps the old distrust is nonetheless telling, perhaps the "enemy image" is nonetheless having an effect—the image which must be gotten rid of, although few people know how....

[Obukhov] Our efforts to overcome the "enemy image" are mutual, although progress is slower than one might wish. It is not, of course, a matter of becoming less vigilant, but rather of building up trust. And this is directly connected with the success of the talks, with the

new approach to the whole range of disarmament questions. If you proceed from the aim of deceiving your partner or believe that his sole aim is to deceive you, you end up in an impasse. This applies likewise to the drafting of agreements and the verification of their observance, and especially to on-site inspections.

To speak in specific terms, let us take space, for instance. Our stance here is well known. We favor the "Washington formula," that is the formula which was adopted during the meeting in the U.S. capital between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan. If this formula, in accordance with which the sides have reached agreement on the nonmilitarization of space and the observance of the ABM Treaty, were given legal status, an arms race in space would be ruled out. Our partners, on the other hand, are proceeding from the statement made by the U.S. President 21 January this year. There the "Washington formula" is already interpreted differently. It is no longer a question of banning the deployment of space arms but of an attempt to draw up "rules" for their deployment. In other words, the Americans are again looking for loopholes to sidestep the ABM Treaty. Either by means of its "broad interpretation," or by "rewriting" the Washington and even the latest Moscow accords to suit themselves. Our position is clearly defined—without guarantees of the observance of the ABM Treaty there can be no 50-percent cuts.

[Bolshakov] I said: The editorial office has received many letters whose authors are afraid that we may retreat from this position at the talks under U.S. pressure, that we may make unjustified concessions. And since we are on the subject of these letters, I will also say that there are letters in which readers ask whether we are not giving the Americans too much information about our defense, whether they may not use it to our detriment.

[Obukhov] You can reassure those readers. The exchange of information takes place on a mutual basis. The Americans know as much about our arms as we know about theirs. The same applies to verification and on-site inspections. Incidentally, speaking to various audiences in Moscow and in other cities, I have had occasion to answer the question as to whether we have not given in to the Americans on the question of verification of the observance of disarmament and arms limitation agreements, whether we have not agreed to on-site inspections under pressure from them. Here it is important to understand the main point. What is at issue here are large-scale reductions—by 50 percent, or down to zero as in the case of the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles—and verification is a matter of vital importance for the state's security. Under no circumstances must this be ignored. Therefore, we favor total and comprehensive verification which alone can give us the confidence that our partners are not deceiving us, that they are not stockpiling weapons in circumvention of the agreement concluded.

[Bolshakov] I understand that it is difficult for you to go into details while the draft treaty is being negotiated, but could you cite at least one example?

[Obukhov] There are many examples. Here is one, which I would describe as the most alarming. In Washington, M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan agreed that limits should be imposed on long-range nuclear-tipped sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCM). The point is that the Americans are planning to install around 4,000 such missiles on their ships and submarines in the near future. True, they have assured us that only 800 of them will have nuclear warheads. But how can this be verified? We have put forward our system of SLCM limitation and verification, including mutual inspections on ships and submarines, both Soviet and American. The Americans have said: "This does not suit us. We consider it impossible to establish real verification of SLCM's, although we have tried everything.

The same applies to air-launched cruise missiles (ALCM). We put forward our system for the verification and computation of delivery vehicles and heavy bombers and the Americans put forward theirs. According to their method aircraft which can carry six ALCM's should be counted as average delivery vehicles. However, this means that B-52 bombers, which can carry up to 28 ALCM's each, are "dropped" from the tally. After all, under the American method it will look as if they are carrying only 6 missiles, while the remainder—more than 20—will not be accounted for. Ultimately, if you think about it, this is also a loophole. However, unless this loophole and other similar loopholes are closed, limits on long-range submarine-launched and air-launched cruise missiles and a corresponding system to verify these limitations cannot be introduced—which makes an agreement on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms impossible.

[Bolshakov] In short, if I have understood you correctly, it is a question of developing new approaches, of what is currently being referred to as new thinking...

[Obkukhov] In our disarmament work this new thinking is as vital as the air we breathe. Without it we can achieve nothing and we will waste the opportunities for the conclusion of agreements on arms limitation and disarmament. And that is something our descendants will not forgive us, you might say. And what is more, the demand now is not just for results. Results can be achieved, given a few years. The demand is for a quickening of the pace, for an intensification of action. This is precisely how the question was posed in Washington and in the course of the latest Soviet-American meetings in Moscow.

[Bolshakov] And what about the Americans: Are they restructuring themselves?

[Obukhov] Not in everything, but they are, nonetheless. In view of the present momentum of the talks, it is necessary to be able to find mutually acceptable solutions quickly and to agree them within the shortest possible time. To give the Americans their due, they fully revealed their ability to do this during the final stage of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Today, alas, the Americans are dragging their feet rather than stepping up the pace. Sometimes it takes them a whole month to agree on simple questions. This was the case, for instance, with Article 11 of the draft treaty on strategic offensive arms, which concerns on-site inspections.... It is notable that this "applying the brakes" has lately been geared to a specific aim. Our partners seem to believe that by these actions they can avoid meeting the deadlines for the elaboration of the draft treaty and put the blame for this on us.

[Bolshakov] Have you ever thought that history is made in this room where we are sitting now? History's first treaties on nuclear disarmament are being elaborated here....

[Obukhov] We try to avoid big words. We are technical experts. Our task is to enshrine political decisions in document form. This is difficult. It is fraught with a certain, I would even say substantial, risk. After all, our partners have their own guidelines, their own instructions, and their own priorities.

Having a hand in making history? That sounds very flattering. But we are not working our fingers to the bone out of vanity. The main thing now is not to waste time. After all, it is not simply a matter of reporting completion on time. The stakes are much higher—the survival of mankind.

Reagan SDI Anniversary Speech Considered

PM211149 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS commentary by observer for military matters V. Chernyshev: "False Arguments"]

[Text] U.S. President R. Reagan has addressed a conference in Washington on the subject: "SDI: The first 5 years" organized by the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis in conjunction with the organization for implementing the Strategic Defense Initiative. The very word "first" in the forum's title should, according to its initiators' design, show up front the fact that there will be "subsequent" years for this pretentious program dangerous to the whole world, a program which, many U.S. observers believe, will not outlive the incumbent President. It was to the confirmation of the thesis that the further implementation of SDI is obligatory that Reagan's speech was devoted, asserting that SDI "is not a bargaining chip which we will concede at talks" and that the United States will continue to carry out research, development, and tests, and, when the system is ready, will deploy it.

What this speech provokes above all is, to put it mildly, perplexity. Just 3 months have elapsed since the adoption in Washington of the Soviet-U.S. joint communique which clearly states the need to elaborate an accord obliging both the Soviet and the U.S. side to observe the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972. But it by no means follows from R. Reagan's current proclamations that the U.S. Administration is acting in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Washington document. Moreover, the head of the White House is complaining that "there are some in Congress would like to bind us to the artificially restrictive interpretation of the ABM Treaty that would effectively block the elaboration and implementation of our SDI program." Consequently, the interpretation of the treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 does not suit the U.S. Administration.

Let us take a look now at the "postulates" with whose aid the President is seeking to prove the need for SDI. He claims that within the framework of this program "means are being developed which would make it possible to render ballistic missiles useless and obsolete trash." At the same time, according to him, "however effective the talks on nuclear arms reduction, we will never be able to forget that nuclear weapons have been invented or to erase the knowledge of how to build ballistic missiles." That means that the path of the world's complete riddance of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles is unacceptable to Washington. It merely needs to protect the United States against missiles with a space "shield," using it to supplement U.S. strategic offensive arms. But was it not the President himself who once said that, if strategic offensive systems are combined with offensive systems, they can be regarded as a factor promoting aggressive policy? Also clearly to be discerned in the speech was the thesis that the SDI program signifies not the renunciation of "nuclear deterrence" but its "consolidation."

The background to the "jubilee" speech is that the "star warriors" are experiencing grave difficulties. Congress, the President complains, is annually reducing the appropriations requested by the administration for SDI and is making bill amendments aimed at ensuring the strict observance of the ABM Treaty.

The U.S. public's attitude toward this program has also changed substantially. "Under conditions where the Russians are offering a substantial reduction of nuclear arms," NEWSWEEK wrote recently, "the already less than delighted public may demand that the next President abandon SDI." SDI's popularity among the Americans was initially caused by the fact that it was presented as a creation for "total defense" against nuclear missiles. But now that it has become clear that this "umbrella" will in any case be "full of holes" and in the foreseeable future there can be talk only of creating an ABM defense of limited effectiveness, and mainly to defend military targets, support for SDI has declined drastically.

Official Washington realizes that the "myths" with which it is enveloping SDI are no longer having an effect on the U.S. public and it is trying to use a traditional method—the thesis of the "danger" from the USSR. "It is no longer a question of whether there will be an SDI program or not," the President says to "intimidate" the Americans. "The only question will be whether the Soviet Union will be the only country with strategic defenses while the United States remains entirely defenseless." In an attempt to distort and falsify the Soviet position, he is seeking to persuade the world that the USSR has its own SDI program.

But the Soviet leadership has stated quite clearly that it has no intention of creating space armaments following the U.S. example, and if Washington nonetheless begins to deploy SDI, retaliatory steps will be taken, and not steps which copy the U.S. actions, but asymmetric steps sufficiently effective and demanding considerably smaller capital investments. It is no accident that these statements have been received in Washington with obvious annoyance, because they undermine the calculations aimed at "grinding down" the USSR on the economic plane by dragging it into rivalry in the sphere of creating broad-scale ABM systems.

It is evidently with a view to boosting the "enthusiasm" of SDI supporters that the President speaks of the program's "major successes" and about it has "progressed more rapidly than many of us ever dreamed possible." Here he keeps quiet about the true state of affairs, about how over the 5-year path even more technical and technological difficulties have been revealed than initially. It is not for nothing that Senator Nunn stressed recently that the President, by constantly militating for the continuation of SDI, "is consistently replacing aims and a technically persuasive analysis with slogans."

The celebration of the program's "jubilee" is obviously aimed at nonetheless "selling" this decayed commodity to the U.S. people and U.S. allies to the advantage of the military-industrial complex.

Solton Views SDI Program on 5th Anniversary
LD222107 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Excerpts] Twenty-three March marks 5 years since President Ronald Reagan of the United States advanced his Strategic Defense Initiative, which is better known to the public as the Star Wars program. What are the aims of this program and what are its likely consequences? Yuriy Solton of our staff has this comment to make:

[Passage omitted] The INF Treaty has shown that ridding people of the nuclear menace is a real prospect and that the prospect of reducing the nuclear strategic weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States by one half is in sight. Yet (?the) nuclear arsenals are impossible to reduce so substantially unless the ABM Treaty of 1972 is observed. This treaty makes it more difficult to put weapons into space. Unfortunately, Washington is planning to break this link. What is more, it claims that the Soviet Union has changed its negative attitude to the SDI program, but such assertions are groundless. Nuclear disarmament is incompatable with preparations for Star Wars. It's a (?poor prospect) when one hand destroys weapons and the other builds new ones, when humanity is promised a chance to survive and at the same is deprived of this chance by launching the SDI program. The only reliable shield for all countries and nations is to eliminate nuclear weapons from earth and in space, to build a world free of nuclear weapons and violence.

Details of SS-12's Arrival for Destruction
PM221153 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Swords Into Plowshares"]

[Text] Saryozek (Taldy-Kurgan Oblast), 15 Mar—The latest trainload of the operational-tactical missiles which international documents call Operational-Tactical Missile-22 (SS-12's) has arrived at this station lost in the endless Kazakh steppe. Their shipment here, thousands of kilometers from the places where they were previously deployed, is seen throughout the world as the latest manifestation of the goodwill and peaceful aspirations of the USSR, GDR, and CSSR Governments. Because the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles has not yet been ratified.

...Soldiers rapidly and skillfully unload the train. The long, snub-nosed missiles are laid on special cars. In a few hours they will be delivered to the place where they will be stored and subsequently destroyed.

The day the first train was unloaded, a TASS correspondent traveled this route with newspaper, radio, and TV correspondents from socialist countries and visited the storage sites. He saw a similar class dummy missile being destroyed. An explosive is put underneath it, and after the explosion only very small fragments remain.

When Lieutenant Colonel A. Borodin, commander of a missile unit, and other specialists told journalists from fraternal countries about this, they were frankly perplexed. Why was such modern equipment involving tremendous labor by thousands of people being destroyed?

There were also other questions. Why had the missiles been taken so far away to be destroyed? Had the Americans gained from the reciprocal reduction?

The missile officers answered in a frank and businesslike manner. To sum up their opinions and assessments, you can conclude that none of them has any doubt today of

the truly historic significance of the treaty. The Soviet missilemen are prepared to destroy their weapons for the sake of world peace as soon as they receive the order.

The missile elimination site was not chosen at random. Military specialists together with ecology experts reached the conclusion that powerful explosions here among the empty clay hills would be least detrimental to nature.

Not everything at the missile complexes will be destroyed. For instance, it is planned to hand over the powerful vehicles to the national economy. As for the rest, in accordance with the treaty, the missiles are being eliminated here by being blown up in the launch containers or by incineration of the missile stages.

U.S. experts (like Soviet experts in the United States) will observe the precise fulfillment of these conditions here.

As for the number of missiles to be destroyed by both sides, the main point, the officers say, is not the arithmetic. A multitude of other circumstances—political, military, and moral—must also be taken into consideration.

The United States is eliminating its intermediate-range missiles in Europe, which are practically strategic weapons as far as the USSR is concerned. They can hit sites on our country's territory and that of its allies in 8-10 minutes. This circumstance gave rise to adventurist hopes in some people in the West of victory in a nuclear war. The treaty has canceled these "hopes," which present a danger to all mankind. The elimination of the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles will be the first real step toward ridding mankind of nuclear weapons and other types of mass destruction weapons.

...The unloading is finished. The column of vehicles sets off. The next train will arrive here this evening.

Bovin Views NATO 'Conflicts, Contradictions'
PM211015 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Aleksandr Bovin "Political Observer's Opinion": "Dangerous Trend"]

[Text] The transatlantic partnership within the NATO framework was always burdened with clashes and contradictions which affected above all the military-strategic sphere. The usual, traditional sources of these contradictions and conflicts are well known. Let us look at them first through the eyes of the Americans and then through those of their European allies.

I will quote a letter from Representative P. Schroeder to Defense Secretary F. Carlucci: "More and more Americans think that our allies are behaving impolitely toward us. They express the opinion that we are spending much more of our wealth on collective defense and that too many of our soldiers are stationed on their territory and that our allies are using the money which they are saving on defense to subsidize trade, thus causing the U.S. balance of trade to be hugely in the red. Although these ideas are perhaps exaggerated, they reflect the people's genuine and profound feelings." B. Wattenberg, a Washington observer of conservative persuasion, expressed himself more vigorously. "The truth," he stated, "is that the Europeans have no backbone and therefore they need a few cracks of the whip."

The United States' European friends have seen the situation in a different light. M.-F. Tuane [name as published], a researcher from the French National Political Sciences Foundation, noting the "general confrontation" between the United States and Western Europe wrote: "...The diplomatic and strategic approach to international affairs and defense problems do not coincide on both sides of the Atlantic; the order of priority for tasks is not the same either with regard to strategic arms talks or East-West relations; opinions of the Soviet Union or of its capabilities in a particular region of the world are not the same. And finally—and this is perhaps the main thing—the concept of Europe itself, its potential aspirations, and the degree of independence to which it has a right are different." Many Europeans are galled and antagonized by the narrow-mindedness and insularity of U.S. positions and by Washington's penchant for adventurism, strong-arm political methods, and a black-and-white view of the world. "People in the United States," D. Bolton from the Royal Defense Research Institute (Britain) affirms, "are accustomed to regard the Soviet Union as the state which gives rise to all the evil in the modern world and which is trying to undermine democratic Western regimes, fan conflicts throughout the world, and lead loyal people and the broad masses astray. This approach may be suitable from the viewpoint of domestic requirements but it is hardly applicable to the complex processes taking place in the world."

On the whole bellicose Americans do not like their European allies' excessive spinelessness and their more moderate and balanced allies do not like Americans' excessive brutality and abrupt movements. That is how one might imagine the plan for "general confrontation" characteristic of the transatlantic partnership.

Now I think that this plan needs to be substantially amplified. Certainly Western Europe is urging the United States to seek mutual understanding and compromise with the Soviet Union and is welcoming the rapprochement of their positions on disarmament questions. At the same time the prospect of normalizing Soviet-U.S. relations is generating obvious alarm in some West European capitals. Will Washington "abandon" its allies? Will it leave them face to face with the "Soviet threat"? Should they not, while continuing to put their trust in the United States, at the same time strengthen NATO's West European stronghold and step up military integration in Western Europe?

The signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has increased the number of these questions and revealed the main avenue where answers to them lie. You get the impression that the treaty's main opponents are not on the other side but on this side of the Atlantic Ocean. They affirm that the treaty has burst the "European strategic balloon." They are pondering the unacceptability of "denuclearizing" Europe. They are seeking ways somehow to compensate for the weapons being withdrawn from the nuclear balance and to nullify the results of the "double-zero." In the opinion of the Europeans, J. Hoagland writes in THE WASHINGTON POST, the March NATO Council session "curbed the penchant for nuclear utopianism" for which the U.S. President is renowned. R. Reagan's statements about the immorality of nuclear weapons and about how they must be eliminated are seen as "utopianism" in the case in question. The final statement's thesis that however important parity in conventional forces is in the "foreseeable future," the need for nuclear deterrence will remain is seen as "curbing."

However, this one-shot victory does not reassure West European strategists. Influential political circles in Western Europe think that the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles reflects the trend toward gradual U.S. "disengagement" from Western Europe in the defense sphere. "New equilibrium" must be created in NATO in order to neutralize this sort of trend, to use French Foreign Minister J.-B. Raimond's expression. The demothballing of the WEU must evidently be regarded from this viewpoint. France, Britain, and the FRG are being particularly active in creating an "autonomous European defense system." The triangle is obviously not equilateral. All the angles are acute. France fears that the FRG, which regards itself as a "zone of heightened nuclear risk," will embark on the path of neutrality. The FRG fears that in the event of a conflict France will not come to its aid. Britain fears on the one hand "excessive" rapprochement between France and the FRG and on the other the fact that "excessive" involvement in autonomous European defense may undermine its special relations with America. However, all the aforementioned misgivings are relegated to the back burner in the face of the main one—the fear of "disengagement"—and correspondingly in the face of the desire to strengthen Western Europe's military potential.

The Americans are, of course, unstinting in their sworn assurances of loyalty to their duty as allies and the firmness of their nuclear guarantees. However, geopolitical reality makes a stronger impression than pledges. People in Western Europe rightly think that Europe is only one possible theater for military operations for the United States. Nothing more than that. The fate of New York worries Americans more than the fate of Paris, London, or Bonn.

In this connection the reaction which the recent Pentagon report entitled "Selective Deterrence" evoked in Western Europe is curious. In an attempt to remove U.S. territory from the firing line, the report's authors presume, first, that NATO can strike the "Soviets (or reach a "draw") without using nuclear weapons. Second, if nuclear weapons are employed, this must be regarded not as a step toward the next escalation of the conflict but as a "means of depriving invading Soviet forces of victory." U.S. allies understand that in both options a NATO "victory" would mean the transformation of Western Europe into a pile of ruins. They insist that nuclear deterrence contains the threat of "massive retribution" and should not become degraded to the possibility of a limited nuclear skirmish in the European theater of military operations.

What has been said by no means signifies that people in Western Europe want nuclear war. Not at all. People there want something else: They want the Soviet Union to be convinced of Americans' determination to share the risk with the West Europeans, to go all the way, and to "defend" their allies with a full-scale nuclear war.

This context leaves practically no scope for reductions in nuclear potentials in Europe. Rather the contrary. Both France and Britain are vigorously building up their "independent" nuclear muscle. Moreover, the French prime minister affirms that neither Paris nor London wants to supplant the U.S. nuclear guarantee. But, J. Chirac believes, the "existence of three independent nuclear decision-making centers reinforces the uncertainty and consequently the deterrent effect in Europe." The logic is compelling. The existence of five, for instance, or six "independent centers" would reinforce the uncertainty and thus the deterrent effect even more. So what? Are we to replace the nuclear weapon nonproliferation regime with a nuclear weapon proliferation regime? There is no need to prove the absurdity of such a formulation....

The Soviet reader realizes that all these strategic investigations are senseless and immoral. They are frightening themselves in vain. We do not intend either to invade Western Europe or to dominate it. The trouble is that "cold war" stereotypes are continuing to act and influence policy. I would like to hope that the course of events and progress in disarmament will erode these stereotypes. At the same time I must also consider another possibility. The emerging trend toward military integration in Western Europe and toward increasing the proportion of "independent" nuclear deterrence, if it is consolidated and assumes clear outlines, will be an additional factor slowing down political and military detente and reducing tension on the continent. This will obviously require amendments to our European policy.

Cooperation, Joint Publication Issues Addressed
OW231017 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1500 GMT 15 Mar 88

[From "Forum on International Issues" program; dialogue between station observer Mulatov and unidentified speaker]

[Text] [Mulatov] Soviet leader Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia has focused worldwide attention on the vigorous development of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation and cooperation between the USSR and other socialist countries.

[Speaker] It should be pointed out that these processes and such cooperation have been enriched and reinforced in recent years, and that they are closely integrated with perestroyka in the USSR and major economic changes in other socialist countries. In my opinion, what is noteworthy is the fact that, shortly before Comrade Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia, two of his books—"Perestroyka Is in the Vital Interests of the People"; and "Perestroyka and New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World"—were published there in Serbo-Croatian.

[Mulatov] Socialist countries have attached great importance to the Soviet thinking of perestroyka and the experiences gained in realizing this thinking. As Soviet people, we are of course delighted by this. You might also remember that Chinese newspapers and magazines also paid great attention to the important views expressed in Comrade Gorbachev's book, "Perestroyka and New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World."

[Speaker] Of course I remember. I have read reports in this regard. Today Chinese newspapers are available in Moscow newsstands.

[Mulatov] I feel that one of the most prominent features of relations between socialist countries this year has been their strong desire to study each other's experiences.

[Speaker] The publication in the USSR of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's work, "On Problems of Contemporary China," is a clear proof of this desire. There are numerous other proofs. While China studies the three Soviet experiences concerning socioeconomic reforms, the USSR also studies China's experiences. People are particularly happy to see such a mental emancipation in this field.

[Mulatov] What specifically do you mean?

[Speaker] What I mean is the work in this area was somewhat affected by formalism and bureaucraticism in the past—only the good things were mentioned. Today, efforts are being made to conduct comprehensive studies of all living aspects of this or that socialist country, including understanding its negative experiences in a critical way, using [words indistinct] as the criterion.

[Mulatov] Without doubt, this will benefit the common cause of strengthening the socialist international bastion and is in the national interests of each and every socialist country. It is no longer a secret to anyone now that people in the USSR today have widely carried out criticism and self-criticism, which have yielded fruitful results in solving practical problems appearing in carrying out perestroyka. This is a dialectical process of turning the negative experiences of the past into constant augmentation of what contributes to the successes in perestroyka. Other socialist countries have properly appraised and studied the process. In an article published in PRAVDA on 14 March, Bulgarian political commentator Abadzhiyev proposed that the paper, PERESTROYKA, should be published in the USSR in various languages.

[Speaker] I think people in China will also support this very sensible proposal.

Maslyukov Departs for CEMA Planning Meeting
PM231137 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "To CEMA Committee Session"]

[Text] Yu.D. Maslyukov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, USSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, and USSR Gosplan chairman, left Moscow for Sofia 21 March to attend a regular session of the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in Planning.

He was seen off at the airport by V.I. Dolgikh, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and other officials.

G. Pankov, Bulgarian ambassador to the USSR, was among the send-off party.

Gerasimov Holds Foreign Ministry Press Briefing

Topics Outlined

LD221618 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—"When the minister is speaking, the Foreign Ministry spokesman keeps silent". With these words, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, opened today's briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists. He noted the fact that USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze now conducts talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. "We associate with this visit to Washington hopes for solutions that will lead to the conclusion of the Soviet-American agreement on the reduction of strategic offensive arms and to progress [words indistinct] Soviet-American dialogue on other subjects".

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that even though the official visit to the USSR by President of the Eastern Republic of Uguguay Julio Maria Sanguinetti is not yet over, it can already be said that it will give an impetus to the development of relations between the two countries.

Gennadiy Gerasimov said the agreement on the setting up of the Yugoslav Information and Cultural Centre in Moscow, signed in Belgrade in the framework of an official visit of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, will be promoting the widening of bilateral ties in the area of culture, science, education, information, will on the whole promote contacts helping the peoples to get to know each other better.

A report on the opening of the talks between representatives of the Sandinist leadership and contras were received optimistically in Moscow, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. "I would like to express the hope that this meeting will lead to the achievement of mutually acceptable results and will be promoting the implementation of the Guatemalan agreements on a peaceful political settlement in Central America". At the same time, we noted reports of British newspapers that the U.S. troops that have now been moved to Honduras will leave vast amounts of ammunition behind, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. Some observers believe this ammunition can be handed over to contras upon the end of the exercises. A road might thus be opened for the transfer of U.S. arms to contras, bypassing congressional decisions.

Touching upon different approaches to the problem of armed forces and armaments reduction in Europe, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that a scheme set out in publications of the West German press can hardly be regarded as the beginning of a serious dialogue. According to these publications, the process of forces reduction in Europe should look as follows: The Warsaw Treaty member-states reduce 80 divisions while NATO countries two divisions. Tanks and other kinds of military equipment are reduced in the same proportions. The Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that the Warsaw Treaty member-states proposed an exchange of the information on armed forces and armaments. "When this exchange of the information takes place, it will be possible to speak about the parameters of reduction in a serious and responsible way", Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman rejected allegations of the British "SUNDAY TIMES" that Soviet chemical weapons are used in Angola. "I can only repeat that there are no Soviet chemical weapons in Angola", he said.

Gennadiy Gerasimov said that First Deputy Procurator-General of the USSR Aleksandr Sukharev met with director of the Office of Special Investigations of the U.S. Department of Justice, Neal Sher, in Moscow on March 21. Questions of Soviet-American cooperation in exposing Nazi crimes committed during World War Two were touched upon during businesslike discussions.

"The Soviet Union strictly observes the embargo imposed by the United Nations Security Council on the Republic of South Africa and declares for fulfillment of the demands of the world community for the application of comprehensive mandatory sanctions to the racist Pretoria regime," the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said in connection with reports that Soviet "Niva" passenger cars appeared in the Republic of South Africa. "Niva is surely a rugged car, but not to the extent of being able to reach the south of Africa, the South African market on its own", he joked. "Somebody must have helped this". "The Soviet Union does no business with the Republic of South Africa", the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Notes Yerevan Incidents

LD221450 Moscow TASS in English 1424 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—In the course of a briefing held here today most of the questions by Western newsmen concerned the situation around Nagorno-Karabakh. Answering them, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said:

The situation remains quite tense. Thus, for example, the curfew remains in effect in Sumgait until now, although the situation is absolutely normal there, the city is working and there are no excesses there. As far as Armenia is concerned, demonstrations are taking place there, which cannot be considered a normal phenomenon.

Gennadiy Gerasimov noted that demonstrations in Yerevan were sufficiently massive, but he knew neither the exact number of the participants, nor about any incidents. He noted that the report had already set the number of victims in Sumgait at 32 persons, and this figure stays. He described as "fantastic" the figures which are spread in foreign radio programmes beamed to the Soviet Union.

The spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry said that a press conference will be held on Wednesday on the subject "topical problems of national relations in the USSR" with the participation of leading Soviet experts.

Comments on Eritrea Captives

AU221327 Paris AFP in English 1323 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 22 (AFP)—Three Soviet military experts have been prisoner and another is still missing after an offensive by separatist Eritrean rebels against Ethiopian Army forces, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said here Tuesday.

A total 13 Soviet military experts, who were in Eritrea assisting the Ethiopian Army "to maintain and repair Soviet combat equipment", were reported missing in action during the offensive in the central tableland of the northern province of Eritrea, Mr. Gerasimov told a news briefing here.

He said that nine had returned, three were "prisoners of war" and the last one was still missing.

A spokesman for the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), Amdemilael Kahsai, had said in Paris on Saturday that two Soviet advisers had been captured the same day after a 48-hour battle for the small town of Afabet.

It was the first time the EPLF had reported the capture of Soviet military advisers backing Ethiopian Government troops in the province.

Eritrean rebels have been fighting the Marxist Ethiopian Government since martial law was declared in the province in 1971. Millions of drought victims in Eritrea and the equally war-torn province of Tigre, further to the south, are threatened by famine.

Cites Chirac on Chemical Arms

LD221503 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Mocow March 22 TASS—"In an interview with a magazine Prime Minister Jacques Chirac of France expressed his positive attitude to equipping the French armed forces with chemical weapons, with some 1,000-2,000 tons of them. He described it as a 'security reserve at the Geneva talks'" Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing here today.

"In the opinion of Jacques Chirac, the adoption of chemical weapons by France expands its opportunities to increase flexibility when choosing the means for repulsing an aggression. Today, if chemical weapons are used against France, it will have to use nuclear weapons, while from now on, according to Chirac, chemical weapons within the framework of the strategy of deterrence will be a major step reflecting the resolve of France to respond adequately to any type of aggression", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

"However, any country willing to acquire or produce chemical weapons can use this logic. In other words, this logic leads to the spreading of those weapons and not to their banning. Besides, it is based on a theory that there will be certain steps of escalation in a future war, and on one of those steps France will be able to use chemical weapons".

"There will be no time during a future war to define the steps, and the best thing to do would be to prevent it altogether. It is this task on which the efforts should be concentrated, and they should certainly include the banning of chemical weapons", he pointed out.

Kharkov Comments on Mediterranean Proposal

LD221530 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—TASS news analyst Vasiliy Kharkov writes:

The new proposals concerning the Mediterranean, set out in the speech by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Belgrade, have already drawn a wide international response. It is recognized in many comments, including those at the government level, that they lay down a good foundation for a constructive dialogue on problems of this densly-populated and strategically important region.

The Soviet initiative attracts with the specific nature of the practical measures proposed. These measures, once carried through, would genuinely help turn the Mediterranean Sea into a zone of stable peace and cooperation, as is demanded by respective U.N. resolutions.

It is the place to recall these proposals. The Soviet Union proposes to freeze the number of ships and the naval potentials of the USSR and the United States in the Mediterranean Sea and then establish a ceiling for them. These are the first real steps towards the far-reaching initiative, launched by the USSR [words indistinct], for withdrawing altogether the military fleets of the USSR and the United States from the Mediterranean Sea. The USSR has confirmed for one more time its readiness for such a withdrawal.

The USSR also proposed to the United States notifying in advance each other and all Mediterranean countries about the movement of warships and military exercises, and inviting observers to them. This proposal envisages

specific actions even before the confidence-building measures, which were agreed upon in the spirit of the Helsinki accords, applied to the Mediterranean.

The Mediterranean Sea, which links three continents, is distinguished by especially intensive shipping. Therefore, ensuring the safety of shipping lanes, especially in international straits, is the matter of exceptional importance, the Soviet Union is prepared to give support to the Mediterranean and other countries concerned in developing the principles and methods of ensuring the safety of shipping.

The USSR has on more than one occcasion drawn the attention of the world community to the abnormal situation that formed in the area of the Mediterranean Sea, which is overflowing with armaments, including nuclear armaments, and was turned into an arena of military confrontation. The Soviet Union repeatedly took measures designed to scale down this tension. But joint efforts by all states concerned are required to achieve effective results. Therefore, the USSR treats with full understanding the initiatives advanced by other countries and holds that they deserve to be given consideration.

A conference representing the Mediterranean and other countries concerned could become the most suitable forum for reviewing all the existing proposals on this score, systematizing them and determining the rational order for their implementation. The idea of convening such a conference in present circumstances has acquired particular topicality.

Human Rights Conference Opens in Berlin

LD221925 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] An international conference opened in Berlin today: The Policy of Socialism in the Sphere of Realizing Human Rights and the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress. Representatives of the 12 fraternal countries are taking part in its work. Attention is being focused on enhancing the effectiveness of cooperation in the sphere of human rights and the influence of these processes on stepping up the struggle for the peaceful future of the planet and progressive social transformations. The conference is being held at the initiative of the fraternal communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze Activities in Washington Reported

LD222021 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; captioned: Report by V. Dunayev, V. Gerasichev, A. Gromov, and S. Cherkasov]

[Text] The visit of Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze to Washington continues. Our correspondents report:

[Begin recording] [First unidentified correspondent] At the U.S. State Department in Washington, talks are in progress between Secretary of State George Shultz and Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze. This morning—it was evening already in Moscow—the first plenary session took place.

The concept and the organization of the March round of talks between the foreign ministers were discussed. Four working groups have been set up: on humanitarian issues and human rights, on bilateral relations, on regional issues, and finally, on disarmament issues. The latter, in its turn, consists of subgroups on strategic arms reduction, on antimissile defense, on conventional armaments, on chemical weapons, and on curbing nuclear arms tests. These groups will present the ministers' reports; results of their work will be stated in a joint report on the outcome of the meeting.

At the March round of talks in Washington, the date for the summit in Moscow is to be set and many other issues are to be solved. Time is precious, and both sides seek to thrash out conditions for a radical cut in strategic weapons by the time of President Reagan's arrival in Moscow.

What we can tell you now is what the talks were about and what the ministers discussed today; namely, humanitarian issues. They have also embarked on discussion of the core issue: a radical cut in strategic offensive armaments. Interest in the meeting is enormous here, and the participants in the meeting, knowing that, willingly receive television cameramen and newspaper photographers. So many Soviet and U.S. experts on disarmament are active these days in Washington. The talks of the ministers continued.

[Second unidentified correspondent] The opening of the Nuclear Risk Reduction Center has just taken place in the State Department. The center is located on the seventh floor, in a small room—only 4 by 6 meters—behind a double steel door. A phototeletype, four personal computers and four more computer printers comprise nearly all the center's equipment. It has been opened in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. agreement signed by Comrade Shevardnadze and Secretary of State Shultz last September. The center envisages exchanges of information within the framework of adherence to the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, as well as information on preventing nuclear accidents, nuclear danger, and incidents at sea, as well as other relevant information of interest to both states. [end recording]

Shevardnadze Views Talks

LD221823 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In Washington, talks have opened between Comrade Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz. In the first round, which was held tete-a-tete, atttention focused on the issues associated with key aspects of the Geneva talks—concluding a treaty on strategic and offensive armaments, and the ABM defense. The most topical of the regional problems were discussed.

On completion of the meeting, Comrade Shevardnadze said, among other things:

[Begin recording] Just now we were discussing the work schedule, determining the agenda for our meetings, our conversations, the structure of the talks. Here with me is a large group of specialists, experts, advisers. So we discussed how to organize our work, the range of issues to be discussed. We discussed, therefore, organizational and structual problems. We also attempted to make a general, a most general, review of the international situation. That is all of my secrets. [end recording]

More on 22 Mar Talks

LD230600 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] In Washington, talks are continuing between Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz. On Tuesday [22 March] arms control issues were at the center of attention of the ministers from the two countries. Strategic weapons and the progress of the Geneva talks on their reduction were discussed, as were President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, observance of the ABM Treaty, chemical weapons, nonnuclear forces, and nuclear tests.

During the morning meeting of the ministers, the discussion also included human rights.

At a joint Soviet-U.S. briefing held on the progress of the talks, an official spokesman for the U.S. State Department remarked that they are going on in a businesslike, frank, and constructive spirit. An in-depth, broad, and detailed discussion of all matters discussed is being held. There has been progress in the arms control discussions, stressed an official spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry in his turn.

ABM Treaty 'Unresolved' Issue

LD230836 Moscow TASS in English 0655 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 23 TASS—The negotiations between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR, and George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, were continued in Washington Tuesday [22 March].

The talks centered on issues of arms limitation and reduction. The sides informed each other about the way the question of the ratification of the treaty on eliminating Soviet and U.S. intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is considered in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the U.S. Congress respectively. They expressed mutual conviction that a timely ratification and entrance into force of this historic treaty were in the interests of both the USSR and the United States as well as the entire world community.

Then Shevardnadze and Shultz paid much attention to questions relating to the work to elaborate a Soviet-U.S. agreement on drastic reductions in strategic offensive armaments provided that the ABM Treaty is observed. They discussed the results of the work carried out by the sides' delegations at the negotiations on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva over the period that has passed since Shultz's visit to Moscow last February. They examined, in part, the joint drafts of the protocol on inspections, the protocol on the conversion and elimination of strategic offensive armaments and the memorandum on the understanding, which were prepared and form an integral part of the future treaty embodying the principle of 50 per cent reductions in strategic effensive armaments of the USSR and the United States.

The ministers discussed in a substantive and specific way all important aspects of the treaty on strategic offensive weapons-ABM that is being drafted, possible ways to overcome the disagreements still preserved. In view of this Shevardnadze and Shultz agreed to give respective additional instructions to the delegations at the Geneva negotiations.

They noted, in the process, that mutually acceptable solutions could be found within the terms which ensure a further meaningful movement ahead in working out the treaty by the time of the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow. But for this, as was stressed by the Soviet side, it is necessary that the United States scrupulously abide by the principle of mutual acceptability in elaborating and putting forward their standpoints.

Much attention in this context was paid to the question of working out an agreement on compliance with the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and non-withdrawal from it within the agreed-upon time-frame. The sides confirmed readiness to act in line with the formulations on this score adopted at the meeting of the Soviet and U.S. leaders in Washington in December 1987. And still, the question of the ABM Treaty remains among the unresolved key issues. Its discussion will be continued Wednesday.

The talks principally pass with a small composition of the delegations on both sides taking part. They involve A.A. Bessmertnykh, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, Colin L. Powell, assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and Rozanne L. Ridgway, assistant secretary of state.

Nuclear Testing Viewed

LD231016 Moscow TASS in English 0859 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Washington March 23 TASS—The negotiations between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR, and George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, were continued in Washington Tuesday. [passage omitted]

An exchange of views was held on the question of nuclear testing. A positive evaluation was given of what has been achieved at the Soviet-U.S. full-scale, stage-by-stage negotiations on this problem, the key provisions of a draft protocol on upgrading the system to verify the 1974 and 1976 treaties on underground nuclear blasts, which is under development, were analyzed.

It was noted that it is essential vigorously to continue the work on the afore-mentioned protocol and concurrently to prepare at an accelerated pace the holding of a joint experiment at Soviet and U.S. test ranges, which will allow the sides to determine more accurately the verification procedures.

Shevardnadze and Shultz also discussed the situation formed with regard to the preparation of a convention on banning chemical weapons. The Soviet side singled out as highly negative in this context the fact of the United States launching the production of binary weapons, which did not help in any measure to attain the goal of banning chemical weapons and posed a real threat to the elaboration of an international accord on one of the all-important problems of disarmament. The sides agreed to continue bilateral discussions of the issue of banning chemical weapons.

An exchange of views was held regarding the state of matters at the Vienna follow-up meeting of the CSCE states to work out a mandate for the negotiations on th armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

Various aspects of humanitarian problems were discussed in a businesslike manner reflecting the new approach to these issues on both sides.

The talks principally pass with a small composition of the delegations on both sides taking part. They involve A.A. Bessmertnykh, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, Colin L. Powell, assistant to the president for national security affairs, and Rozanne L. Ridgway, assistant secretary of state.

Shevardnadze on Afghanistan

LD221713 Moscow TASS in English 1616 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 22 TASS—Negotiations between Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz resumed here today.

Before the negotiations opened, journalists asked Eduard Shevardnadze whether the Soviet Union can start withdrawing the limited contingent of Soviet troops from the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan when there is no Geneva agreement. "It is better to sign the document. Such a variant is better", said the foreign minister of the USSR. "Are you disappointed with the U.S. decision to continue deliveries to the Afghan armed opposition?" journalists asked him. "We shall discuss this question", Eduard Shevardnadze said.

Glazunov Questions U.S. Actions for Treaty

LD221532 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] The current meeting between the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, and the American State Secretary, George Shultz, draws a lot of interest in various countries. All kinds of predictions are made. Viktor Glazunov elaborates:

We know from past experiences, he writes, that regular meetings between Shevardnadze and Shultz helped untangle complicated problems, but this is when the two sides have the political will to do that. Is there such a political will this time? Continuity and sequence are very important factors for politics. Politicians should move from the already achieved to new achievements. The tasks facing the two ministers is to prepare a new Soviet-American summit and make it a success. This means they should see to it that the agreement reached in principle at the previous meeting over the signing of a new nuclear disarmament treaty should be made feasible at the forthcoming summit. Yet Washington officials have lately begun saying more and more often that little time is left before the new summit and therefore the new treaty will hardly be prepared for it.

The Soviet side thinks that if the work is efficient and purposeful enough this preparation can be completed. As for the American side, it has presently slowed down the work at the Geneva talks where the treaty is being worked out. What's more, if the sides are to move toward a new treaty, they should honor the agreements already reached, and it's obvious that the American side tries to depart from the formula worked out at the previous summit that the new treaty dealing with the 50-percent cut in Soviet and American strategic arms is possible only if the provisions of the ABM Treaty are strictly abided by. I find the tendency of the American side, Viktor Glazunov went on, to interpret freely the commitments taken upon itself as very alarming.

This tendency shows itself not only in disarmament questions. Let's take the commitment taken by the two sides at the previous summit to help the parties involved in regional conflicts find peace solutions. How can one assess in this context the United States behavior in Central America? Does it regard the dispatch of airborne units toward the Nicaraguan border as help in the searches of a peace settlement in the region? Or take the Afghan issue. One of the stumbling blocks in the way of the signing of an agreement on the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan is Washington's refusal to honor the earlier-assumed commitment to cease all military aid to the Afghan opposition as soon as the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan begins.

Both the conditions of understandings reached and of the treaties signed should be observed by all means, otherwise there will be no movement forward. The current actions by the United States arouse grave concern. Will this concern be removed during the present Shevardnadze-Shultz meeting in Washington, writes Viktor Glazunov, is the question that bothers not only me.

U.S-Soviet Dialogue 'Difficult But Ongoing'

PM221631 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Koryavin dispatch: "Difficult But Ongoing Dialogue. New Round of Soviet-U.S. Talks in Washington"]

[Text] Washington—The subject of Soviet-U.S. relations is being discussed here particularly actively at present in connection with the new round of talks between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz.

Observers are pointing above all to the fact that the dialogue is acquiring permanence. The dialogue is difficult but ongoing, the legacy of problems is enormous but not infinite, yesterday's pessimism can make way for today's optimism—those are formulas brought out in a whole series of international reviews.

U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz, answering questions from ABC observers, said that he considers the possibility of agreement being reached between the two countries on a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons to be realistic. Observers have drawn particular attention to this, since doubts on this question had recently been expressed in administration circles.

THE NEW YORK TIMES described the question of a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons as a key goal for the present round of talks. It is also pointed out that a formula could be worked out which would to some extent limit the development of military space programs—that is, "Star Wars" programs. Although admittedly considerable reservations have been expressed on this subject.

Assessing the prospects for the halving of U.S. and Soviet strategic arsenals, Costas Tsipis, an eminent scientist from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, stressed in conversation with this correspondent that it is the right thing to do in the nuclear age, when the planet is crammed with deadly nuclear weapons. He is convinced that "such an arms cut carries no threat to either state's security. On the contrary, the implementation of this program would be sensible from the military, political, and psychological standpoint—a straightforward demonstration of wisdom."

Many specialists in the United States are expressing similar views. Brigadier General Homer Bushe [name as published] stated that "the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is a good start which must be followed by a 50-percent cut in strategic nuclear forces." This was also emphasized by Rear Admiral Gene La Rocque, director of the Defense Information Center in Washington. "Although intermediate- and shorter-range missiles do not represent the entire gigantic military arsenals held by the two powers, they are a very substantial component in the nuclear equation," he said. "Their elimination is a most important step. And it is particularly important for the European continent. I reject the statements by certain experts in the United States that West Europe would lose its 'nuclear shield' as a result and become more vulnerable. On the contrary, it will gain security with the elimination of the missiles. And U.S. security will not be threatened by a halving of strategic nuclear arsenals. We must stride confidently toward a new treaty. All of us—politicians and military men. This is above all in the interests of our peoples."

Comment on Reagan Statement on Afghanistan

LD221545 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian
1355 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 22 Mar (TASS)—TASS political observer Askold Biryukov writes:

"On 21 March, when the Geneva talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan resumed after encountering difficulties in recent days because of the stance of Pakistan and the United States, President Reagan decided to contribute his two cents to the obstacles on the path to political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. In the proclamation he signed on Monday declaring this day to be "Afghanistan Day," the head of the U.S. Administration once again stated for the umpteenth time that the United States "has given constant support to the Afghans" and that "this support will continue". At the ceremony to sign the proclamation, the President added, "We will continue this support as long as is necessary-....Their struggle is our struggle."

So what do we have here? During the Geneva process, the United States pledges to cease all military aid to the Afghan rebels from the beginning of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. But when the USSR names the timetable and procedures for the withdrawal of its troops, the U.S. President, as if he has just forgotten about his country's pledge, talks about the need to continue aid, in other words, to continue the fraticidal war in Afghanistan. "Help as long as neccessary." Who needs this? The Afghans are tired of bloodshed. They don't need the war. They need peace to cultivate the fields, sow grain, and teach children. And from Washington calls are resounding for the war to continue to the last Afghan, for everything that has been gained through the toil of the Afghan people to be destroyed, for the "struggle" that the armed antigovernment formations are waging against the people's power in Afghanistan on U.S. money and U.S. weaponry is, as the President says, "our, that is, the U.S. struggle."

For the time being, possibly, pretending that they are interested in a speedy political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, the United States has demanded a reduction in the timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops that was named earlier by Moscow and Kabul. When the USSR and Afghanistan actually announced a reduction in this timetable to 9 months, taking into account the wish of the United States and Pakistan to pull out the greater part of these troops in the first months, there was dismay in Washington and Islamabad. There they suddenly started to say that this timescale was "on the small side" and that it, as they put it, "will expose the rebels to a certain amount of danger," as they "do not have sufficient reserves of weapons or ammunition." Not enough for what? To continue hostilities? For what other reason would they require these weapons and ammunition after the process of a political settlement is placed on a treaty-law basis with observance of the necessary guarantees with the signing of the agreement in Geneva? The answer readily suggests itself. In the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, they are already looking for loopholes to ensure that "channels for supplying aid to the rebels are preserved in the event of a breakdown." And aren't the new demands from the United States and Pakistan that have been put forward in recent days in Geneva connected with this?

As is evident, some people in Washington are finding it very difficult to come to terms with the new political realities that are arising throughout the world, and to take into account the striving of peoples on different continents to sort out their affairs themselves and defend their interests and rights. There they are stubbornly clinging to out-dated stereotypes for resolving international problems and forming international relations. And more. Some people in the United States probably do

not very much want a political settlement around Afghanistan to become the first signs in the process of the subsequent settlement of other regional conflicts burdening the present-day international situation.

U.S. Schoolboy Ends Peace Mission to USSR

LD222320 Moscow TASS in English 2145 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—President of the Soviet association Peace to Children in the World at the Soviet Peace Committee, children's writer Anatoliy Aleksin, conveyed to the American schoolboy Bradley Correa words of gratitude from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

"Mikhail Gorbachev, "he told Bradely, "asked to wish you and your young friends health, happiness and great successes in your noble striving to help the adults establish peace in our world."

The nine-year-old American from Los Angeles was staying in the Soviet Union on a two-week peace mission on the eve of the visit of the U.S. President to the USSR. In addition to the Soviet capital Bradley visited Volgograd, Kiev and Leningrad where he met with his coevals at schools, palaces of pioneers and was received by city authorities.

At today's meeting with the Soviet public and children at the Soviet Peace Committee the American schoolboy handed over a letter addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev, in which he expressed, in particular, his belief that Mikhail Gorbachev wanted peace. All American children dream of peace, he continued. The war is bad and the money is needed for schools.

"Your letter and your arrival in our country," Aleksey Aleksin said, "testifies to the fact that exchanges between the children and young people of our countries help promote peace throughout the world." On behalf of the Soviet Peace Committee and the association Peace to Children in the World he handed a present to the American boy—a Gzhel samovar with a small teapot and cups—a symbol of peaceful house and family, and therefore peace and happiness.

After the warm and heartfelt reception at the peace committee, Bradly was received at the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Council Mossoviet. Here he handed to the first deputy chairman of the Executive Committee, Ilya Pisarev, a friendly message from the Los Angeles mayor, Thomas Bradley. He received a commemorative book for the Los Angeles mayor with the inscription "To Thomas Bradley, the mayor of Los Angeles, from Mossoviet. With best wishes and gratitude for the warm message and likable envoys. Such exchanges help establish peace and friendship between our countries."

After several hours the plane will take Bradley thousands of kilometres away from the hospitable Soviet land. But, despite the great distance between the two countries the young envoy of peace will still feel the warmth of the hearts of Soviet people, whom he met.

China

Economic Cooperation Commission Ends Session

LD221923 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—The third meeting of the Standing Working Group on Transport of the Soviet-Chinese Commission on Economic, Trade and Scientific-Technical Cooperation was held in Moscow from March 14 to 21.

The meeting studied questions of cooperation in carrying foreign trade freight between the USSR and the PRC in 1988. It passed in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere.

Wu Xueqian Comments on Middle East Problems

LD201415 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT 20 Mar 88

[Text] Beijing March 20 TASS—The Palestinian issue is the kernel of the Middle-East problem. Without settlement of this question it is impossible to have peace and stability in the region, said Wu Xueqian, member of the State Council, foreign minister of the People's Republic of China.

In the course of negotiations, which were held here with the delegation of "the Committee of Seven" of the League of Arab States, he underlined that the cause of the long overdue Middle-East problem is the continuing occupation of Arab lands by Israel which refuses to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The Government and the people of China consistently support the heroic struggle of the people of Palestine and denounce acts of brutal suppression being undertaken by Israel.

The People's Republic of China, he said, supports the idea of an international conference on the Middle East under the U.N. aegis with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. Wu Xueqian noted the great significance of consolidation of unity of Arab states and the Palestine Liberation Organization and welcomed the steps being undertaken in this respect, writes the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO.

Success of Wu Xueqian U.S.-Europe Visit Noted

OW191113 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 17 Mar 88

[(Koleznov) commentary]

[Text] Listeners of this station may have learned that Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian concluded his visit to the United States, Great Britain, and France on Wednesday. Please listen to a short article written by station commentator (Koleznov). The article is translated and read by station announcer (Ma Dewen):

I think that during his stay in Washington, Wu Xueqian accomplished the principal purpose of his U.S. visit; namely, alleviating certain differences which have caused tension in Sino-U.S. relations in recent months. The United States has accepted China's guarantee of stopping the sale of Silkworm missiles to Iran and lifted the ban on transferring modern U.S. technology to China. Meanwhile, during their talks with the Chinese foreign minister, senior U.S. officials avoided focusing on the so-called Tibet issue. Although disturbances similar to those that had occurred in the fall of 1987 again took place in Lhasa, President Reagan did not say a single word about the situation in Tibet. On the Taiwan issue, Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian expressed the belief that the United States would actually uphold the one China policy that Washington claims it pursues.

When Wu Xueqian talked and met with the British foreign secretary and with Prime Minister Thatcher in London, they discussed issues concerning bilateral relations and the implementation of the Joint Declaration on Hong Kong, which was signed in 1984. Wu Xueqian briefed his British hosts on the formulation of the Basic Law of Hong Kong—a draft of which will be made public in May and will become effective after China resumes sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997. Recent reports indicate that China and Britain will go through a period of severe tests because it appears the two sides have different views on how Hong Kong should be returned to China. In London, as it was in Washington, the situation in Tibet was also discussed. However, according to Thatcher, her talks with Wu Xueqian proceeded in an extremely cordial atmosphere.

Wu Xueqian also made a brief visit to Paris. While there, he and his counterpart Raimond had discussions on bilateral relations and urgent international issues. News agencies noted that at a press conference before flying to Paris, the Chinese foreign minister criticized the Dalai Lama, who is living outside China, for undermining China's national unity. Wu Xueqian also pointed out that if the Dalai Lama returns to China, he would be treated as a clergyman.

Tajik Cooperatives Establish Trade Links

LD230935 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Cooperatives in Tajikistan have established direct trade links with China. This year they expect that turnover will amount to millions of rubles. The Tajik producers will sell fertilizers, refrigerators, cameras, and textiles to the neighboring Xinhuang-Uighur region in China. In return they will buy silks and confectionaries from China.

Northeast Asia

Generals Attend Mongolian Army Jubilee Events

PM221231 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report and TASS report under the general heading: "To Mark the Anniversary"]

[Text] On 17 March Major General R. Gunchin-Ish [name as published], military and air attache at the Mongolian Embassy in the USSR, gave a reception to mark the 67th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Army. The reception was attended by Army General V.L. Govorov, USSR deputy defense minister, and by generals and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The guests included military, naval, and air attaches at embassies of foreign states in the Soviet Union.

Ulaanbaatar, 17 Mar—A ceremonial meeting devoted to the 67th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Army has been held here.

From the first days of its existence, Lieutenant General Zh. Baljinnyam, chief of the Mongolian People's Army Political Directorate, pointed out in a report that our army had established a fraternal combat alliance with the heroic Red Army and together with it won a number of brilliant victories. Today, as previously, the Soviet people and their Armed Forces are giving invaluable assistance in defending the security and the socialist gains of People's Mongolia.

Army General Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, commander in chief of the Ground Forces, USSR deputy defense minister, and head of the Soviet military delegation which has come to the celebrations, addressed a greetings message to the meeting participants.

Present at the ceremonial meeting were J. Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Mongolian People's Great Hural Presidium; D. Sodnom, member of the MPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Mongolian Council of Ministers; and other party and state leaders.

J. Batmonh received the Soviet military delegation the same day. The meeting was held in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality.

Yazov Greetings Message

PM221157 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[USSR defense minister's cable to Mongolian counterpart on 67th anniversary of Mongolian People's Army]

[Text] To Comrade Colonel General J. Yondon, defense minister of the Mongolian People's Republic

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and myself I cordially congratulate you and all Mongolian servicemen on the 67th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Army.

Closely united with the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the servicemen of the Mongolian People's Army are vigilantly guarding the socialist gains of the Mongolian working people. Educated in the spirit of internationalism, Mongolian servicemen in single combat formation with the servicemen of the fraternal armies are making a worthy contribution to the work of increasing the socialist community's defense might.

I express confidence that the good traditions of the indissoluble friendship and the combat fraternity between our armies will continue to strengthen and develop in the interests of our peoples.

I wish you and all the Mongolian People's Army personnel every success in improving combat skill and further consolidating the Mongolian People's Army's defense capability.

Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense

Results of Fishery Talks With Japan Summarized

OW221401 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] A press conference was held at the Ministry of the Fish Industry on 16 March to brief the domestic and foreign press corps on the conclusion of the fourth meeting of the Soviet-Japanese Fisheries Committee. The meeting was held in Tokyo from 29 February to 14 March.

At the press conference, Vyacheslav Zilanov, chief of the Foreign Relations Administration of the Ministry of the Fish Industry, who led the Soviet delegation to the meeting, said: At the meeting, the Soviet and Japanese sides discussed a number of issues concerning Soviet-Japanese fishery cooperation. First, both sides summed up the results of the fishery cooperation between the two countries in 1987. They also studied the possibility of establishing Soviet-Japanese joint enterprises in the Soviet Union. In addition, they reviewed the results of cooperation in the preservation and proper utilization of salmon, hatched in Soviet rivers, in the Northwest Pacific.

At the Tokyo meeting, the Soviet side stressed that it was improper for Japanese fishing boats to fish salmon, hatched in Soviet rivers, in waters beyond the Soviet 200-mile sea zone. The Soviet side pointed out that these Japanese fishing activities caused a great loss to salmon fisheries. We presented a very reasonable proposal for the utilization of salmon resources. The proposal calls for a total ban on catching salmon, hatched in Soviet rivers, in oceanic waters by 1992. At the same time, we agreed with Japan to cooperate in rebuilding salmon resources in the Northwest Pacific in the future and agreed to explore the possibility of Japanese fishing boat operations within the Soviet 200-mile sea zone, if Japan is interested in such operations. The Soviet side could not but point out that the violations of operational rules by Japanese fishing boats, that is, violations of treaty obligations effective both ways, increased sharply in 1987. The number of violations last year totaled 192 cases, 3 times as many as in 1986.

The Soviet side notified the Japanese side that salmon resources this year were estimated to have decreased by half or one-third and that the two countries faced the task of rebuilding these resources. The Soviet Union, as the country of origin for these salmon, is primarily responsible for and concerned about their preservation and proper utilization. Soviet biologists have estimated the proper level of the salmon catch of Soviet fishing boats in 1988 at between 70,000 and 80,000 tons, a drop of 49 percent from 1986. Taking this into consideration, Japan should consider measures to reduce its catch by an equal amount. Nevertheless, we believed that we could allow Japan to maintain its catch at the same level as in 1986 and 1987. However, we failed to obtain Japan's understanding, and the Japanese side proposed to have another meeting to further discuss this issue. It proposed that another meeting be held in April for this purpose. We are now studying this proposal, and will strive to reply to the Japanese side at an appropriate time.

Overall, we positively evaluate the results of the fourth meeting of the Soviet-Japanese Fisheries Committee and hope that the two sides will achieve further progress through talks in the future. We signed a protocol concerning the results of the Tokyo meeting. Another meeting will be held in Moscow in April.

KCNA Cited on DPRK Mobilization Order

PM221302 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Act of Self-Defense"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 21 Mar—The supreme commander of the Korean People's Army has issued an order to the Army, Air Force, and Navy and all subunits of the

People's Guard, the Worker-Peasant Red Militia, and the Young Red Guards for "full combat mobilization readiness" in connection with the dangerous situation that has arisen as a consequence of provocative actions by the United States and South Korea, says an information announcement from the Korean People's Army Command issued here by the KCNA agency. The document notes that the 150,000 officers and men of the Korean People's Army taking part in the construction of civil projects are also "ordered to be in full readiness."

This act of self-defense has been undertaken, the announcement notes, because in the course of the American-South Korean joint military maneuvers "Team Spirit-88" that are now going on, American troops, planes, and warships equipped with nuclear weapons are concentrated in the south of the Korean Peninsula and adjacent regions. The "Team Spirit-88" maneuvers, which constitute a rehearsal for nuclear war, are an open challenge to the DPRK and the Korean people and create a serious threat to peace, the Korean People's Army Command announcement stresses.

Korolev Comments on 'Team Spirit' Exercises

LD221534 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] The United States and South Korea are holding joint military exercises "Team Spirit-88". Here is what Radio Moscow news analyst Vladimir Korolev writes:

The yearly "Team-Spirit" exercises are the biggest held outside the United States. They take place on the territory of South Korea and close to its shores. Two hundred thousand servicemen of the two countries take part in them and also a big number of naval ships, planes, and other military hardware. The troops are said to be rehearsing offensive operations and learning to act in conditions when nuclear weapons are used. There are such weapons in the south of the Korean peninsula. Up to 1,000 nuclear charges are kept at United States military bases in that country, as well as delivery vehicles, and both Seoul and Washington make no secret about who is the enemy and against whom all those weapons could be directed; that is, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

"Team Spirit" exercises have been held regularly since 1976 and the scenario is practically the same. But times change and so changes the assessment of this or that event on the international scene. The militarists are forced to adapt themselves to the new conditions and that includes the organizers of the "Team Spirit" exercises. At the end of last year the Pentagon sort of hinted that the "Team Spirit" exercises wouldn't take place in 1988; what is more this was presented as a good will act prompted by the desire to ease tension on the Korean peninsula on the eve of the summer Olympic games in Seoul. But all this proved to be nothing more than a propaganda trick. By having groundlessly charged the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of being involved in the South Korean air liner disaster in November of last year, Washington and Seoul cleared the way for continuing the buildup of tension in the Far East and it seems they had no intention of abandoning their old policy in that region.

And it is only natural that in such a situation the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is forced to take measures to ensure its security. The supreme commander of the People's Army of the republic has alerted the troops, navy, and volunteers. An official statement says this step has been taken in connection with the extremely dangerous situation that has developed because of the reckless provocative actions of the United States and South Korea.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Rogachev Arrives for Talks in Philippines

'Routine Diplomatic Consultation'

HK220834 Hong Kong AFP in English 0807 GMT 22 Mar 88

[By Roberto Coloma]

[Text] Manila, March 22 (AFP)—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev arrived here Tuesday for a five-day visit highlighted by a meeting with President Corazon Aquino that is expected to take up the issue of U.S. military bases in the Philippines.

"We do hope that our relationship will be getting better and better. We hope that political dialogue between the two countries will continue and... will be higher," Mr Rogachev told reporters.

He said he expected to take up with Mrs Aquino bilateral relations, regional problems and global issues. Asked whether the future of U.S. bases in the Philippines will be part of the talks, the Soviet official said: "I don't exclude that."

His unusually long visit, officially described as a routine diplomatic consultation, came two weeks before the start of U.S.-Philippines talks on the future of Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base, both near Manila. It also came ahead of Mrs Aquino's mid-April visit to China, her first to a socialist nation. Mrs Aquino has accepted in principle an invitation to visit the Soviet Union, but has set no date.

Mr Rogachev replied "maybe" when asked whether the issue of last week's naval conflict between China and Vietnam in the Spratleys, a South China Sea archipelago also claimed by the Philippines, would be raised in the talks.

Mr Rogachev, who came from Bangkok, earlier visited Vietnam and Cambodia, and is due to fly from here to Singapore.

Western diplomats say the Soviet Union has been stepping up efforts to expand political, economic and cultural ties with the Philippines. Mr Rogachev is the highest-ranking Soviet official to visit Manila since another deputy foreign minister called on Mrs Aquino shortly after a popular revolt installed her in power in February 1986. Diplomats say Mrs Aquino was initially cool to the Soviets because they were the only foreign country that accepted the proclamation of Ferdinand Marcos as winner of the presidential election that triggered the revolt. Moscow has subsequently sought to improve ties with Mrs. Aquino side by side with calls for the removal of the U.S. bases and promises to reciprocate a U.S. military withdrawal from Southeast Asia.

Soviet air and naval forces are stationed at Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay, across the South China Sea from Subic, a vital U.S. Seventh Fleet port.

Washington accuses Moscow of aiding the communist New People's Army (NPA), but Manila has made no such charge. The Maoist NPA, however, has recently made overtures for aid from the Eastern bloc, shedding its long anti-Soviet bias.

Soviet-Philippine trade has been erratic since diplomatic relations were established in 1976. The balance has consistently been in Manila's favour. Trade peaked in 1980 when Philippine exports to the Soviet Union totalled 189.29 million dollars and imports reached 21.58 million dollars, declining to 15.42 million dollars and 14.55 million respectively in 1986, the Philippine Central Bank said. Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus, the head of the Manila negotiating team during the U.S. bases talks next month, told reporters Tuesday that "Soviet-Philippine relations are a very important aspect of our foreign policy." He did not elaborate.

'Academic Interest' in Bases

OW220817 Tokyo KYODO in English 0804 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Manila, March 22 KYODO—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev arrived in Manila Tuesday for a four-day visit that will include a talk with President Corazon Aquino.

In his arrival statement, Rogachev, 56, expressed hope that relations between the Philippines and the Soviet Union "would be getting better." "We hope that the political dialogues would be continuing and the level of dialogue would be higher," he said. He said he was bringing an "oral message" from the Soviet Presidium to Aquino but did not elaborate on its contents.

Aleksandr Losyukov, Soviet Embassy deputy chief of mission, told KYODO news service that the visit is part of "political consultations" between Rogachev and Philippine officials that began in 1983.

Rogachev will also hold separate talks with Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus and Deputy Foreign Secretary Manuel Yan. He will hold a press conference on Friday before he leaves Manila the next day.

Losyukov denied that Rogachev's trip was timed before next month's review of the military bases agreement between the Philippines and the United States. He said the Soviet Union maintains an "academic interest" in the U.S. bases in the Philippines and added that they "might be picked up as a topic" for discussion between Rogachev and Philippine officials.

Asked if he would raise the bases issue during his talk with Aquino, Rogachev replied: "I don't exclude that."

Losyukov said the discussions between the Soviet deputy foreign minister and Philippine officials will deal mainly with "bilateral problems and global politics."

Rogachev is the highest Soviet official to visit Manila since former Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Kapitsa's trip here in 1986.

Filipinos Believe Nuclear Weapons Kept on Bases

LD230004 Moscow TASS in English 1951 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Manila March 22 TASS—Units of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, standing on guard outside American military structures in that country, do not have any instructions for actions in case of extraordinary circumstances which might come, following incidents with nuclear ammunition, deployed at the Pentagon bases. This was stated a few days ago by the Philippine General Artemio Tadiar [name as received]. His words were received here as another confirmation of the fact that the territory of the U.S. bases, which the Filipinos have a limited access to, is used for deployment of nuclear weapons. Hence the constant threat to human lives in case of unforeseen circumstances or a conflict situation.

Washington has refused to disclose whether there are nuclear weapons on American military bases in the Philippines, but the Filipinos in their majority do not have any doubt of that. Senator Ernesto Maceda, talking to journalists, has said: "With a certain extent of confidence many of us suspect that nuclear missiles are deployed at this bases."

Burma's Current Economic 'Decline' Analyzed

BK201101 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 19 Mar 88

[Commentary by station commentator]

[Text] A report presented to the sixth session of the People's Assembly of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma by Prime Minister U Maung Maung Kha outlined many issues vital to the economic development

of the country. In this connection, our commentator notes that economic indices in that report show a decline in the economy in recent years.

What has caused this? Many who observe the workings of the People's Assembly point primarily to the political conditions in the country to answer that question. Of course, no one can deny that these conditions play an important part, and the Burmese people should know best, but what I would like to discuss at this juncture is several external factors which have some bearing on Burma's economic development.

Like many other countries, when Burma won its independence it also inherited a load of problems, including the economic plague following the war and the imbalanced development of its national economy. Certain circles in the Western world today blame the Burmese people for having more self-pride than necessary in believing they could solve these problems by themselves. However, these people seemed to have forgotten that when the U Nu government was in power, it also refused to accept any American aid in its Pyidawtha Scheme [National Development Plan] because of U.S. involvement in the Kuomintang aggression against Burma. Moreover, there are many reasons for the Burmese people to be suspicious of the political motives of the foreign powers who offer to help.

Burma tried to develop its external economic relations in accordance with its policy of equality and mutual benefit, and trade was the basis of such relations. However, Burma learned later that it cannot have equality even in such an area as trade. For instance, the price of raw materials exported by the developing countries to the capitalist markets continues to decline, while the cost of importing industrial finished goods keeps increasing.

In recent years, other factors that affect nations on a poor economic footing have also emerged. As stated at the People's Assembly session, the main reason for Burma not being able achieve its Fourth Four-Year Plan objectives was because of the economic ills of the capitalist world. The repercussions felt in the country, which are of serious concern to the Burmese Government, are the shortage of oil and the declining foreign trade earnings, and these problems in turn aggravate the external debt situation. Since Western banks keep increasing their interest rates, loans pose a greater burden on a debtor nation. Today, Burma is starting to feel the burden of its foreign debts.

Observers in Rangoon see another serious problem; that is, they see multinationals exploiting Burma's difficulties for their own interests. There have been efforts to bring foreign investments into the country today. Certain foreign circles can take advantage of such woes to influence the political events in Burma.

What then is the way out of this situation? Can Burma strengthen its economic base among world nations without sacrificing its sovereignty and independence? There have been many suggestions and opinions regarding these questions. But one thing is very clear. It is the Burmese people who must choose and decide for themselves.

Near East & South Asia

Pakistani Envoy Discusses Country's Policies

LD221912 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Tomorrow is Pakistan Day, the national holiday of the people of Pakistan. Shahid Mohammad Amin, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, is taking part in our program.

[Amin, speaking in English with superimposed Russian translation] Dear friends! Pakistan is a neighbor of the Soviet Union and has long-standing ties with Central Asia. Pakistan's history covers many millenia, during which diverse cultures influenced our people. One should mention in particular the influence of the Moghal culture, which originated in Fergana, Uzbekistan. Aware of the grandeur of its Islamic heritage, our people were full of determination to have their own independent state. We achieved this 41 years ago.

Pakistan, with a population of 100 million, is one of the major Muslim countries. Since winning its independence, Pakistan has achieved a great deal of progress in industry, agriculture, and education. Pakistan has the highest per-capita income in South Asia. The country is a leading exporter of rice and raw cotton, and is nearly self-sufficient in food and consumer goods. Since 1980, Pakistan's economy has been developing rapidly: It is growing at about 7 percent a year, and agriculture and the processing industry occupy a leading role.

Pakistan conducts a nonaligned foreign policy, and has no foreign military bases on its territory. On the majority of international issues, Pakistan holds views similar to those of the Soviet Union. Pakistan has supported various Soviet initiatives on disarmament. As concerns the Afghan issue, we are convinced that a political solution is very close. Pakistan is taking part in the negotiations in Geneva, which are the result of the UN General Assembly decision calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops and the establishment in Afghanistan of favorable conditions for the return of over 3 million Afghan refugees from Pakistan. Pakistan approved the 8 February statement General Secretary Gorbachev made on the withdrawal of Soviet troops. We hope that a certain degree of

progress will be achieved on other aspects of this problem, too, so that the refugees may return to Afghanistan and that peace may be established in this long-suffering land.

Pakistan hopes for a new page in relations with the Soviet Union to be turned, and for the development of cooperation between our neighboring countries.

Wakil Scores Pakistan Tactics, Cites Optimism

PM221739 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 88 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil in Geneva by PRAVDA special correspondent V. Bolshakov: "'Reciprocal Steps Needed'"—opening paragraphs PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Geneva, 22 Mar—PRAVDA readers already know that, contrary to expectations, the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva, which are taking place through D. Cordovez, personal representative of the UN secretary general, did not culminate on 15 March in the signing of an agreement on Afghanistan. It is now becoming clearer who was to blame. Speaking at a press conference in Geneva the other day, Pakistani Foreign Minister Zain Noorani said that before the agreement is signed it is necessary to start a "process" whose objective will be to create a "coalition government" in Kabul. To that end, he said, it is necessary to assemble representatives of the Afghan Government, Afghan refugees, Afghan emigres, and the armed opposition for consultations either in Geneva, or in Vienna, or some other place. Before one set of talks has ended, the leader of the Pakistani Foreign Ministry is proposing starting another, and recommending that D. Cordovez again act as mediator.

It has been made known in Geneva that the "Peshawar Seven," bringing together various detachments of the armed Afghan opposition, is preparing to send a delegation to Geneva, although its spokesmen have not named the specific date for the trip—obviously because of the squabble under way among them at the moment.

Aside from the question of a "transitional government," Pakistan has apparently also tried to get the question of allegedly disputed borders between Pakistan and Afghanistan onto the talks agenda. Why is Pakistan doing all this? What is the purpose of its maneuvers? To find out about all this I went to Geneva's Intercontinental Hotel to meet with Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil, who kindly agreed to give your correspondent an interview. Here it is:

[Bolshakov] What do you think are the reasons that the talks on Afghanistan did not culminate in success on 15 March?

[Wakil] Pakistan bears grave responsibility for this. After the 8 February statements on Afghanistan by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev and Najibullah, all obstacles to the conclusion of an agreement which Pakistan had cited previously were removed. Moreover, by agreement with our government the USSR proposed the withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan in an even shorter period—in 9 instead of 10 months. But even this did not move Pakistan to sign the agreements on 15 March. It is obvious that the Pakistanis are not ready to do it, and this does not surprise us. We have long experience of contacts with them. And I must say that during the previous round of talks Pakistan placed artificial obstacles in the way of their success on more than one occasion. It is the same tactic this time. As soon as we remove one obstacle, Pakistan creates several new ones—artificial ones to boot. But we have consistently advocated and are advocating a just settlement and solutions capable of actually eliminating the tension that exists in the region.

[Bolshakov] How would you compare the positions of Pakistan and the United States vis-a-vis the settlement of the Afghan problem?

[Wakil] Over the past 10 years we have been able to convince ourselves that they always act in unison. And even if they differ on how to interfere in our affairs, their differences are small. There is, of course, a clear division of roles and functions. The United States provides the opposition forces with weapons, equipment, and finance, while Pakistan puts its territory at their disposal. Even at the negotiating table we have observed more than once that the Pakistani representative acted in the same spirit and used all but the same words as the U.S. secretary of state when speaking about Afghanistan.

[Bolshakov] How, in your view, will the talks in Geneva develop further? What is the correlation between the Geneva process of the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and the question of the formation of a coalition government?

[Wakil] This will depend primarily on Pakistan. We are hoping that the Pakistanis will take an objective view of the situation. The two processes must be kept separate. Talks about the formation of a coalition government are a matter for the Afghans themselves, a question which concerns the settlement of the situation inside the country. And here we are prepared to enter into any discussions and even direct contacts with the opposition. But our talks with Pakistan in Geneva are talks about the regularization and normalization of relations between our two countries, about a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, and about guarantees of noninterference in the country's affairs. This is why we cannot agree to the question of the creation of a government being raised at the negotiating table. If the Pakistanis recognize that the two processes must be kept separate and that it is necessary to adhere strictly to the essence and the subject of the talks, then I see no reason why we should not in the very near future be able to sign the agreements which have been under discussion for 6 years now. Incidentally, signing these agreements would

pave the way for the discussion of a number of other, long-overdue questions whose solution Pakistan has always linked with the withdrawal of Soviet troops. We are ready for this.

[Bolshakov] The policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by your government is gaining increasingly broad support among the Afghan people, as even the Western press has admitted. But is the armed opposition prepared to accept it?

[Wakil] The Afghan people are tired of war. They want peace, they are striving for peace. Therefore, the people are welcoming with enthusiasm everything that can bring peace nearer. This is why the idea of national reconciliation has met with such a great response. And we believe that, as time goes on, support for this idea will grow everywhere.

[Bolshakov] And one last question. How do you view the outcome of the talks—optimistically or pessimistically?

[Wakil] We have always been optimists. That also applies to the talks in Geneva. However, one-sided optimism cannot take you far. Reciprocal steps and a constructive approach from our partner are needed. We are hoping that ultimately Pakistan will adopt such an approach. And as for the reasons for my optimism, I will name another one: The very fact that the talks have not been broken off but are continuing inspires hope.

Pashtuns Demand Pakistan Remove Afghan Rebels
LD231236 Moscow TASS in English 1150 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 23 TASS—Participants in a Jirgah of the Pashtun tribe of Mohmand held near the city of Naushahra, Pakistan, have demanded that urgent measures be taken for eliminating camps and bases of Afghan anti-government groups in the zone inhabited by the three tribes.

The presence of Afghan opposition groups on that territory poses a serious threat to a normal life of Pashtuns. It is being used by Pakistani authorities for establishing control over the areas inhabited by the tribes that enjoy traditional freedom, participants in the Jirgah pointed out.

Efforts for Peace Continue in Afghanistan
LD221354 Moscow TASS in English 1257 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin:

Peace jirgahs have an important role to play in the restoration of peace and security in Afghanistan's Laghman Province. Over the past year, almost three hundred jirgahs were held there with the participation of a total of 7,000 authoritative representatives of the tribes. As a result of the measures taken by the peace jirgahs and the messages addressed to their compatriots resident abroad, nearly 600 inhabitants of Laghman Province have returned home. Two regiments and a battalion of the people's volunteer corps have been formed in the province from among the Pasha'i people and the Pashtun tribes. Nearly a thousand persons serve now in these units, whose servicemen stand guard of peace and security of the population together with the regular troops. An important factor for easing tensions in the province has been the signing of protocols on ceasefire with a number of opposition armed groups.

Last week, the BAKHTAR agency said, a 400-man strong armed unit ceased struggle against the authorities in Herat Province. Another 330 Afghans have returned home from Iran and Pakistan.

At the same time, irreconcilable armed groups have continued subversive activities in the course of seven days. They rocketed residential neighbourhoods in the cities of Herat and Ghani as a result of which 18 persons were injured and several buildings destroyed. Another two criminal acts have been prevented by the Afghan security organs in Paghman District of Kabul Province and Seyyed Karam District in Paktia Province. Seventy rocket projectiles prepared for being fired on populated localities were discovered there. At the request of the population, units of the armed forces carried out an operation against irreconcilable groups in Daman District of Kandahar Province and Joldak district of Zabul Province.

Sofia March 22 TASS—Due to the national reconciliation policy pursued by the Republic of Afghanistan, prerequisites have been created for ensuring peace and tranquility in the country, a BTA correspondent was told in interview by Najmuddin Akhgar Kawiani, member of the Politburo of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee, who is currently on a visit here.

Together with the other peace-loving forces the Afghan people are looking forward to a successful completion of the Geneva talks, he stressed. It remains only to coordinate the timetable for the return home of the limited contingent of Soviet troops. This has become possible due to the constructive approach of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. Our stand has come as a surprise to Islamabad and taken it unawares. The Pakistani leadership continues creating artificial obstacles at the talks, is pursuing a policy for their protraction. But we do not lose hope that Pakistan will display goodwill and common sense on that issue, N.A. Kawiani emphasized.

Servicemen Celebrate Afghan New Year
PM221526 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik "Dispatch From Afghanistan": "A Time of Hope"]

[Text] Kabul, 21 Mar—Yesterday the working people of Afghanistan marked the New Year by the Afghan calendar. Cheerful celebrations were held on that day in the capital, provincial centers, and other cities and villages of the country.

The working people of Afghanistan are greeting this New Year with hope for the long-awaited peace and tranquility in the ancient land of their ancestors. This hope is pinned first and foremost on the humane policy of national reconciliation actively pursued in the country by the PDPA and the government and on the constructive new initiatives for a peaceful settlement of the Afghan problem put forward in the statements by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Here is just one eloquent fact about the reconcilation policy—120,000 refugees greeted this New Year in their native land, having returned from exile. That is 25 times more than in all the previous years since the April reovlution.

They are given tangible help in the Republic. Every day funds are paid into a special account in the state bank by private businessmen, the intelligentsia, labor collectives, and Afghan Army servicemen. More than 2,000 stallholders, KABUL NEW TIMES reported recently, gave 2 days' profit to the repatriates' fund.

This is what KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent was told by Mirzo Dehqan, who wandered for 8 long years around the refugee camps in Pakistan:

"In all the refugee camps the counterrevolutionary ringleaders frightened us by telling us that in Afghanistan Islam is in danger, that the lives of orthodox Muslims involve risk, great burdens, and poverty. In fact it all proved to be untrue. In the Republic's new constitution, Islam is declared to be the religion of Afghanistan. All refugees returning home, including my family of 12, were given free assistance with clothing, food, and kerosene. The vast majority of my compatriots languishing in the refugee camps in Pakistan are prepared to return home and join actively in building a new life...."

...On this festive day the Soviet paratroopers of the N Guards Paratroop Regiment greeted Afghan paratroopers with bread and salt. An Afghan-Soviet friendship rally was held in the parade ground, decked with the slogans: "Peace to your home" and "We wish the Afghan people peace and prosperity." Then, to the strains of a brass band, the Soviet and Afghan servicemen planted a Friendship Avenue. Sports contests and a festive dinner were held. The Soviet and Afghan servicemen then saw a performance by Colonel of Medical Services G. Kostyuk. Many of them liked his songs, which were also heard on Soviet television not so long ago.

"Today is a return visit by our Afghan paratrooper friends," I was told by political worker Guards Lieutenant S. Yarkov. "Yesterday a delegation of our servicemen went to the Afghan paratroopers' barracks, where we took part in sports contests and restored a destroyed bridge."

Among the Soviet servicemen's guests I met with my good friend Captain Jumakhan, one of the first Heroes of the Republic of Afghanistan.

"In 9 years," Jumakhan said, "this is my first New Year spent without weapons in my hands and among friends, among Soviet friends. We Afghans have always been aware of the reliable support of the Soviet soldier in our battles with the armed opposition. And now that national reconciliation is under way in the country, we are constantly aware of the assistance of the Soviet Union and its courageous servicemen. This redoubles our forces in the struggle for the future of a sovereign and independent Afghanistan."

Equally moving were the touching meetings between Soviet and Afghan servicemen on New Year's Day which took place wherever there were military garrisons. Delegations of Soviet servicemen also visited their proteges on that day—the pupils at the "Watan" children's homes, where the children of those who died for the bright ideals of the April revolution are taught.

Clothing, children's beds, school requisites, toys, and sports equipment sent from the USSR were presented to Afghan children at the Kabul central "Watan" home. "We are constantly aware of the Soviet people's fraternal assistance," Mohammad Qader, deputy president of the main administration of "Watan" institutions under the Afghan Council of Ministers, said. "We are especially moved that Soviet servicemen also help orphaned Afghan children. I would like to take this opportunity to express great gratitude to all Soviet people and the Soviet specialists and teachers who, with us, devote their knowledge and warm hearts to children. More than 5,000 orphans are now being raised at institutions in the 'Watan' system. In all, according to our figures, 28,000 children need such help. To resolve this problem, among other measures, eight boarding schools are now being built with the Soviet Union's assistance."

...New Year's Day sets the pattern for the whole year, Afghan superstition says. The Afghan people spent New Year's Day in festive concerns and activities. And we would like to hope that the entire year will be equally peaceful and happy for all the long-suffering people of Afghanistan.

Moscow City Delegation Feted by Afghan Leaders
PM221119 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Agreement Signed"]

[Text] An agreement has been signed in the Afghan capital on cooperation between the cities of Moscow and Kabul for 1988-1990 within the framework of direct

links between USSR cities, oblasts, and republics, and Afghan provinces and cities.

In accordance with the document, the Moscow Gorispolkom and its organizations, the Moscow City Council of Trade Unions, and the Moscow Komsomol Gorkom will continue to give assistance to Kabul municipal bodies, the Kabul city committee of the Afghan democratic youth organization, and public organizations. The points in the agreement include continued technical assistance in the planning, construction, and operation of various projects and free supplies of construction and general equipment, clothes, and toys for the needs of the population and the economy of the Afghan capital.

The document envisages the establishment of direct links between Moscow organizations and 13 Kabul organizations in various sectors of the city economy.

Moscow trade unions will help train trade union cadres for the Afghan capital. The exchange of delegations from the two capitals' executive committees and party, trade union, and youth organizations and from mass media editorial offices will continue.

The Moscow Komsomol Gorkom will help in the preparation and opening of the Kabul "Moskva" Youth Club.

The agreement was signed by V.T. Saykin, head of the Moscow City Soviet delegation and chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom, and A. Sangin, chairman of the Kabul Council of People's Representatives Executive Committee.

The Moscow City Soviet delegation was received by Afghan President Najibullah. The Afghan leader noted, in particular, that the Afghan year that is coming to a close has been the year of the national reconciliation policy. During this period 3,500 population centers have transferred peacefully to the control of the state authorities. Some 120,000 refugees have returned home and 40,000 membes of the armed opposition have stopped fighting. It has also been a year in which the republic's armed forces have been strengthened, a year in which the membership of the PDPA has grown. Our party now has 195,000 members, Najibullah noted. But the most important thing is the fact that the national reconciliation policy has the support of the whole people. The other side is responsible for the continuing fratricidal war.

Talks are being held in Geneva at the moment on a political settlement of the Afghan situation. Afghanistan is displaying a constructive approach and firm political resolve at them. But Pakistan is displaying a stance that is politically off-balance.

The signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan and the opposition's demands on a transitional government are two things that are unconnected. The question what kind of government Afghanistan is to have is a matter for the Afghans themselves. We are prepared to cooperate with everyone on the broadest basis in this matter, but I repeat that it is a matter for the Afghans themselves. Even if such a government were set up abroad, the people of Afghanistan would never accept it. Pakistan is currently using delaying tactics, the Afghan president stressed, despite the fact that all the documents were agreed on beforehand. He noted that the Afghan people are perfectly well aware that if the war stopped, the country would have a much better chance of solving socioeconomic questions. Therefore Afghans are calling the statements by the two states' leaders a program of peace.

Afghan Prime Minister S. 'A. Keshtmand gave a dinner in honor of the Moscow City Soviet delegation.

Relations between our countries, which were inaugurated by the great Lenin, the head of the Afghan leadership said at the dinner, have deep roots. At the moment we are receiving a Moscow delegation. And Moscow is the center from which ideas of peace are constantly emanating. Moscow is the center of the profound process of restructuring. It is from Moscow that ideas are coming for new approaches to the solution of international problems.

The policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan is also a product of the new political thinking. It is basically intended to contribute to the establishment of peace not only in our country and region but all over the world. There is now probably no one in the world who is not looking to Moscow. I am very glad, S.'A. Keshtmand said, that we have signed an agreement on cooperation. Direct links between the cities lay the foundation for friendship between the peoples.

The Soviet delegation head thanked the Afghan comrades for the invitation to visit Kabul and said that the agreement is not the first, nor is it the last. He talked about the Moscow City Soviet's activities and about the restructuring that is taking place in the USSR and wished the Afghan people success in carrying out the outlined plans. Soviet people are well aware of Afghanistan's problems and believe that the Afghans will cope with the difficult tasks.

The Moscow City Soviet delegation had meetings with Afghan Public Health Minister S. Bahadur and Education Minister 'A.S. Qayyumi.

Afghan Envoy Replaced Due to Illness

AU221420 Paris AFP in English 1412 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 22 (AFP)—The Soviet ambassador to Afghanistan, Pavel Mozhayev, was replaced last week because he had a heart attack, Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said here Tuesday.

Mr. Gerasimov told a news briefing that Mr. Mozhayev was "now in hospital, with a heart condition".

TASS news agency reported last Wednesday that the ambassador had been "appointed to another post", and replaced by Nikolay Yegorychev, a former ambassador to Denmark.

Amman Islamic Conference Proceedings Reported

LD221557 Moscow TASS in English 1447 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Amman March 22 TASS—The 17th conference of foreign ministers of the member countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) has opened in the Jordanian capital. Among the main issues on its agenda is that of strengthening solidarity and giving support to the Palestinian uprising on the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza sector, a discussion of ways and methods of ensuring a comprehensive Middle East settlement, questions pertaining to economic cooperation between the OIC member countries.

Opening the conference, King Husayn of Jordan noted that the world has entered the period of hopes since the two great powers have signed the treaty on the elimination of intermediate and shorter-range missiles. And if that treaty gives ground to hope that the world will step over the threshold of the arms race, it shall not be forgotten that peace and security cannot exist for a long time if regional conflicts are not settled.

Touching upon the Afghanistan issue, the Jordanian monarch urged, as he said, "our brothers in Afghanistan to reach national reconciliation and display no vacilation on that issue now that the Soviet Union has announced its wish to return its troops home from Afghanistan." He expressed hope that this opportunity for restoring and strengthening stability in that country would not be missed.

King Husayn described the Iran-Iraq war as a bleeding wound of the Islamic society and declared for the implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 598.

The speaker stressed that the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council as well as all sides involved in the conflict, including PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, is a means for ensuring a just and comprehensive peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The King of Jordan has condemned the mass repressions by the Israeli occupation authorities in the captured Arab lands and urged the participants in the conference to express solidarity with and give all-round support for the Arab people of Palestine waging a struggle for the exercise of their legitimate rights.

The participants in the Amman meeting have received a message from Javier Perez de Cuellar, U.N. secretary general, stressing the need for the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the captured Arab lands, satisfaction of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and ensuring the security of borders for all states of the region. These questions shall be resolved within the framework of the international conference on the Middle East, Javier Perez de Cuellar emphasized. He pointed to the growing international support for the idea of its convocation and noted that the biggest obstacle in that way is Israel's stand. The U.N. secretary general pointed to the special role which the Security Council, especially its permanent members, are to play in ensuring the holding of the conference. In that connection he expressed concern about the fact that at this crucial juncture the host country of the U.N. headquarters—the USA—had decided to close the mission of the permanent observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the U.N.

Javier Perez de Cuellar urged the participants in the meeting to make every effort to end the Iran-Iraq war, to intensify the search of ways and means for the settlement of other acute regional conflicts.

Kabul March 22 TASS—The Foreign Ministry of Afghanistan has described the incorporation of the so-called "Afghanistan issue" into the agenda of the foreign ministers' conference of the OIC member countries as an attempt by some reactionary circles at distracting the attention of the conference from the urgent issues of the Islamic states. This step, says the message from the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan to the participants in the Amman meeting, which was issued by the BAKHTAR agency, is not only a breach of the OIC and U.N. Charters, but also direct interference in the home affairs of an Islamic country.

Being one of the founders of OIC, the document says, Afghanistan wishes to have good relations with all the Islamic states, including with its neighbours—Iran and Pakistan. Afghanistan has always wished the Islamic world unity and solidarity.

The policy of national reconciliation, which fully accords with the principles of Islam, the message goes on to say, is the sole alternative to war. This policy, which is a result of new political thinking, has enhanced the international prestige of the Republic of Afghanistan. The visits of the Afghan representatives to 54 countries of the world, including Islamic countries, are manifestations of the goodwill and the wish to explain to international public the noble aims of the policy of national reconciliation.

The people of Afghanistan link all of their hopes with the speediest establishment of peace all over the country. The honest and principled stand taken by the Afghan side at the Geneva talks is evidence of the wish for a just settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and a

successful completion of the Afghan-Pakistani talks. The statements by the leaders of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union and the statements by the governments of the two countries are proof of that. Deplorably, at the current stage of the Geneva talks the Pakistani delegation is piling up artificial obstacles in the way to their successful completion. Yet there is a possibility for a triumph of the common sense, political realism and goodwill in order to be able to make resolute steps to meet each other half way. The discussion at the Amman Conference of the so-called "Afghanistan problem", the message from the Foreign Ministry says, will be conducive only to a heightening of tensions on the issue of settlement around Afghanistan.

Jordanian, Saudi Officials Receive Sytenko

LD221926 Moscow TASS in English 1740 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Amman March 22 TASS—Prime Minister of Jordan Zayd al-Rifa'i received Ambassador at Large Mikhail Sytenko on Monday. Problems linked with the situation related to Afghanistan were discussed. The similarity on the Soviet Union's and Jordan's approaches to the need of the early efficient completion of Afghan-Pakistani negotiations in Geneva was noted.

Zayd al-Rifa'i expressed profound satisfaction with the results of his visit to Moscow and constructive conversations with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Nikolay Ryzhkov and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

The ambassador at large today met with Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, who participates in the work of the meeting of the foreign ministers of the countries, members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, now under way in Amman.

The Soviet Government's statement on Afghanistan was handed over to the Saudi foreign minister. Sa'ud al-Faysal said that the Soviet Union's decision on withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan created favourable prerequisites for settlement of the Afghan problem.

Ryuytel Receives Moroccan Minister, Delegation

LD230206 Moscow TASS in English 1552 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—The all-round expansion of contacts at state, public, religious and other levels consolidate trust between peoples and strengthens security. This was observed today in a conversation between Arnold Ryuytel, vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and members of a Moroccan religious delegation led by Abdelkebir Alaoui M'Dghari, minister of religious endowments (awqaf) and Islamic affairs.

The delegation is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Council for Religious Affairs at the USSR Council of Ministers and the Council of Moslem Organisations of the USSR.

The sides exchanged views on the situation in the Western Sahara. It was stressed in this connection that all outstanding issues of inter-state relations should be handled at the negotiating table, with due account for the interests of all sides concerned.

The visitors shared their impressions of the tour of Uzbekistan. The head of the delegation said that he was greatly impressed by the Soviet Union's sensible and poised stance with regard to believers and care with which Islamic historic and architectural monuments were preserved in the republic.

Israeli Communist Delegation Continues Visit

Meets Ligachev, Dobrynin

PM221239 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 88 Second Edition p5

[TASS report: "Meeting in the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A meeting was held on 16 March in the CPSU Central Committee between Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and K.N. Brutents, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and a Communist Party of Israel (CPI) delegation comprising M. Vilner, general secretary of the CPI Central Committee; D. Khenin, member of the CPI Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPI Central Committee; Z. Karkabi [name as published], candidate member of the CPI Central Committee Politburo; S. Jubran, secretary of the CPI Central Committee; and L. Zakhavi [name as published], member of the CPI Central Committee.

The CPI delegation was briefed on CPSU activity to implement the revolutionary restructuring policy begun on its initiative and supported by the people, which embraces every aspect of life in Soviet society—the economy, politics, social relations, and the spiritual and moral sphere. It was emphasized that, despite the complexities natural for such extensive renewal, the restructuring policy is already bearing real fruit—primarily as a result of revealing the masses' creative potential and galvanizing the human factor in the context of democratization and glasnost. The Israeli comrades were informed on the results of the February CPSU Central Committee plenum and its significance with regard to giving ideological backing to the restructuring process, which is now one of its central issues. The party is preparing for its 19th all-union conference.

Guided by the new political thinking, the CPSU is trying to implement a program to create a nuclear-free world and a comprehensive international security system. The signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is an important step in this direction. Progress in the disarmament sphere creates favorable preconditions for improving the situation in the world and solving disputes, including regional conflicts, on the basis of a balance of interests of all interested parties and strict respect for peoples' sovereign right to determine their own future.

The CPI representatives highly appraised the CPSU's restructuring policy and consistent course aimed at disarmament and the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe. They said that the fate of peace, civilization, and peoples' national and social liberation depend on the success of the changes taking place in the USSR and on the introduction of new political thinking in international relations.

The Israeli comrades informed the Soviet side of their party's activity at the present stage, when the recklessness of Israeli ruling circles' expansionist policy is becoming increasingly obvious. At this stage, which is in many ways a turning point for the country, the CPI believes that it is a national task to renounce the futile course of confrontation with the Arabs and disregard for the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the creation of their own state and to move toward a policy of reconciliation and good-neighborliness, which is the only policy that can guarantee Israel a peaceful future. The CPI is trying to establish a broad front in defense of peace and against the aggressive, expansionist policy of reactionary Zionist circles. The struggle of Communists against the nuclear ambitions of the Israeli leadership and against the anti-Soviet "strategic cooperation" between Israel and the United States is also in real national interests.

The CPI firmly and consistently defends the vital interests of the working people—Jews and Arabs alike—and their social and economic rights, and is opposed to discrimination against the Arab population of Israel.

The CPSU representatives expressed their solidarity with Israeli Communists and with their principled, internationalist, and genuinely patriotic policy with which they are boldly opposing militarist, chauvinist attitudes, as well as anti-Soviet campaigns inspired by reactionary forces. It was confirmed in this connection that the Soviet Union does not harbor enmity toward Israel and its people and that it would be quite possible to normalize relations with the Israelis as part of the process of a Near East settlement. The choice made by the Israeli leadership in its future policy is important.

The participants in the meeting noted that the world is broadly agreed on the need to urgently convene an international conference which could resolve the conflict situation in the Near East. They emphasized that a true settlement cannot be achieved without solving the Palestinian problem—with the participation of the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The CPSU and CPI representatives voiced the common opinion that the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories has added a qualitatively new dimension to the conflict and that hopes of using force to perpetuate Israeli domination in the region have obviously failed. They expressed their solidarity with the Palestinians' just struggle, resolutely condemned the Israeli authorities' outrages, and demanded that they be stopped immediately.

The participants in the meeting expressed their satisfaction with fraternal CPSU-CPI relations and spoke in favor of their being strengthened further.

The meeting proceeded in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

Israeli CP Head Interviewed

LD201135 Moscow TASS in English 0915 GMT 20 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 20 TASS—"We are for a peace settlement of the Middle-East crisis, to ensure the interests of all parties concerned. We, just as other political forces in Israel, abide by the principle: Two states for two peoples—Israel and Palestine". This was stated in a PRAVDA interview by Meir Vilner, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Israel.

The way to a peace settlement "lies through an international conference, a real one, not the one serving as a screen for separate deals. We are optimists, notwithstanding all difficulties and the heightened atmosphere. The Palestinian uprising and its consequences will in the final account approach the convocation of such a conference and the peoples of our region will acquire peace", Meir Vilner said.

Assessing the events taking place on the occupied Palestinian lands, Meir Vilner said that the Palestinian people "is waging rightful national liberation struggle against occupation, for formation of an independent Palestinian state, along with the State of Israel. The events show that the Palestinians are fighting for their freedom, not against the people of Israel".

"On the occupied lands Palestinians formed joint committees in towns, villages, refugee camps. The Palestinian uprising is not the result of despair, it is going on keynoted by the confidence in victory. One is already witnessing major results. They could be seen also inside Israel. Atrocities of occupation forces gave rise to protests in the country. Ever growing numbers of people in the world are becoming aware that the Middle-East

events are not just a regional conflict, but a very important international problem and the way to its solution is through an international conference with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization", said Meir Vilner.

Shamir U.S. Tour To Counter Protest Effect

PM221441 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Koryavin dispatch: "United States-Israel: Visit With a Sequel"]

[Text] Washington—The journalists who considered that Israeli Prime Minister Shamir's U.S. visit ended with the send-off ceremony on the White House lawn were clearly hasty with their conclusions.

He has left Washington for Los Angeles and New York, and this is not just the tourist trip which frequently concludes interstate talks in diplomatic practice but a constituent part, if not the chief purpose, of his current official mission to the United States.

In the general assessment of commentators, the Washington talks between the U.S. President and the Israeli leader reached an impasse. Shamir rejected a U.S. plan providing, in particular, for the introduction of a regime of "limited self-government" for the Palestinian population in the occupied Arab territories and the holding of an international conference on a Near East settlement, which would legitimize separate talks between Israel and its neighbors. In fact the prime minister, who reflects the views of extreme right-wing circles of the ruling Israeli coalition, rejected even a limited version of the U.S. plan, considering the mere mention of an "international conference" an infringement of Israel's interests.

More than enough words were spoken in Washington about further support for Tel Aviv. It was also given further guarantees, including military ones. But official Washington could not accept its junior partner's conditions, above all because qualitative changes have occurred recently in public opinion, including the broad American audience.

Processes favoring a Near East peace settlement are active in the international arena. Broad agreement is taking shape on the need to convene without delay an international conference aimed at resolving the Near East crisis. The firm opinion is growing that a genuine settlement cannot be achieved without the Palestinians' participation.

Serious reappraisals of Israeli policy are taking place among the U.S. public itself. This has been given a boost by the events in the occupied Arab territories. The millions-strong U.S. audience has seen with its own eyes the Israeli military's unbridled terror against the Palestinians. The Palestinian population's uprising has introduced qualitatively new changes to events in the Near East. Many Americans, including representatives of the country's Jewish community, are starting to realize that Israel's gamble on force and terror is failing. What is more, they are already openly condemning the excesses in the occupied territories.

It is with a view to "cushioning" the effect of the protest campaigns that Shamir has begun the "second lap" of his visit by setting out for meetings with representatives of the U.S. Jewish community in New York and California.

U.S. Prefers 'Monopoly' of Mideast Settlement

PM221549 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Mar 88 p 9

[Igor Belyayev "Political Observer's Notes": "Plan Without a Settlement"]

[Text] In March, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has visited Israel, Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. The result is a new U.S. plan for a Near East settlement. Israeli Prime Minister I. Shamir refused to participate even in devising a draft of the plan. He had to be specially summoned to Washington, where President Reagan personally demonstrated to him the advisability of adopting the plan.

So what are its essential features? Above all a U.S. desire to continue to play the part of sole mediator between the warring sides in the Near East—Israel and the Arabs. The Americans gave the Soviet Union the gist of the plan, but did not propose joint action. The United States still prefers an unproductive monopoly on settlement mediation. There is also an obvious desire on G. Shultz' part to placate the Palestinians who are continuing to rebel against the occupation.

G. Shultz has called his plan an "integrated package." This is a term from professional diplomacy. It is used when they want to stress that a particular version of a plan must be adopted in its entirety.

After this particular warning, one might have thought it was all about a general settlement in the region. But Shultz' plan does not touch either on the problems of the Golan Heights or on the problem of East Jerusalem. Scarcely accidental, it seems to me. As for the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip, they, according to the current version of the plan, can be haggled over by Israel and those Arabs who sit down at the negotiating table. Will there be many takers? I don't think so....

G. Shultz' bombshell is his interesting proposal to convene an international conference on the Near East in April. Yes, to be attended by the five members of the UN Security Council and all interested parties. Well, has there been a shift in the U.S. stance on a conference? In general terms, yes. In particulars, no. The thing is that the secretary of state is still proposing a so-called "nonauthoritative" conference on a settlement in the region. It would not impose solutions or place a veto on any

bilateral agreements (that is, separate deals) if they are reached. In other words, the conference would merely play the part of international window-dressing.

G. Shultz does not want the PLO to be invited to the conference. It was on his initiative that the office of the PLO observer at the United Nations was closed recently. But the main thing is that Shultz' plan envisages neither the creation of a Palestinian state nor the solution of all the accompanying acute problems. Therefore, it seems to me, the new U.S. approach is hardly going to suit the Palestinians and the Arabs. The final decision is theirs.

Following his rendezvous with the U.S. president in Washington, I. Shamir effectively rejected the plan. He favored the "international principle" of talks, bilateral, of course, with the Arabs. And in the case of Palestinians, only with Palestinians selected by the Israelis. That is, instead of a genuine international conference on the Near East he is proposing a simulacrum. And what follows—talks on some sort of limited Palestinian autonomy, and all that it would entail—should not concern any one else. This is the Israeli interpretation of the U.S. plan.

Without denying the positive aspects of the plan, one has the impression that G. Shultz and R. Reagan want to use the new version of a Near East settlement in an attempt to divert the Palestinians from their rebellion against Israeli occupation and, at the same time, further demonstrate their concern for the present Israeli government. After all, the presidental election is in the offing....

Officials, Commentators Discuss Near East

LD230023 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1630 GMT on 22 March carries the "Repercussions" program, subtitled "The Road to Peace in 'Hot Spots'—The Near East," which lasts 1 hour 25 minutes.

The phone-in discussion program is chaired by Farid Mustafyevich Seyful-Mulyukov. He sums up the various regional conflicts that have taken place in the Near East since the war. In the studio are well-known experts on the Near East: Sergey Andreyevich Losev, general director of TASS, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, and deputy of the Supreme Soviet, who has been studying Near East problems for many years and who has repeatedly visited the region; Konstantin Yervandovich Geyvandov, political observer of IZVESTIYA, who worked for some years as PRAVDA correspondent in the Near East and whose articles in IZVESTIYA on the Near East are well-known; Igor Petrovich Belyayev, doctor of economic sciences, political observer of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, a well known publicist and author of a number of research works on problems of the Arab world; Oleg Gerasimovich Peresypkin, rector of the Diplomatic Academy of the USSR foreign ministry, doctor of historical sciences, former USSR ambassador to North Yemen and Libya, and a newcomer to "Repercussions."

Seyful-Mulyukov reads the first question about the Near East peace conference.

Losev responds by saying that interest in the idea of a conference has been revived. It was discussed at the recent meeting between Shevardnadze and Shultz. He notes: "In January, the United States vetoed a Security Council resolution which was proposed to the UN secretary general to convene an international conference on the Near East. Now, the plan proposed by Shultz during his talks in Jordan, Syria, and Israel, features as its first point the convening of an international conference on the Near East, and, moreover, in the near future, this April.

"It would appear that there is a real shift in the U.S. position, but unfortunately this is only at first glance, because if we look at the essence of the Shultz plan—true, it is intentionally vague but all the same its outlines can be discerned—first, the international conference according to the U.S. idea must be, as they say, authoritarian, that is, its participants will assemble and then immediately after the convening they must proceed to separate talks, primarily between Israel and Jordan. In other words, according to the U.S. idea this must be a cover for separate talks, while, as you remember, the Soviet Union—and we are consistently adhering to this position—in its plan put forward back in 1984, insisted on a genuine conference with the participation of all interested sides including the PLO. In the U.S. plan, the Palestinian delegation must join a joint delegation with Jordan. But that is not the main defect of the U.S. plan. The Americans are substituting a curtailed autonomy for the idea of creating a Palestine state, and the autonomy at the first stage must be even, according to the Americans, semi-autonomy. This semi-autonomy must continue for no less than 3 years. Only after that will there effectively be a transition to so-called autonomy, and the Israelis say that Israel's so-called sovereignty over the occupied territories even in conditions of autonomy must continue without end." Losev mentions the problem of the Israeli settlements.

Seyful-Mulyukov speaks of the Mediterranean and Gorbachev's ideas, expressed in Yugoslavia, on demilitarization of the region. Peresypkin says there are enormous arsenals in the Mediterranean and he speaks of the presence of the U.S. 6th Fleet. He was himself in Tripoli during the U.S. bombardment, and they were difficult times for the Soviet colony. He thinks the Gorbachev proposals are very important. The USSR wants peace in the region, he says.

Seyful-Mulyukov says there are many questions concerning the Palestine uprising. Various listeners ask who controls the uprising and what are its aims. Belyayev answers, describing the uprising as a civil disobedience

campaign by the younger generation born during the occupation, who want their own state. Belyayev adds that the uprising shows the PLO has great prestige in the area. It is a well-organized action. An interesting element here is the role of the religious personages, he says, and the occupiers are terrified of the religious factor.

Seyful-Mulyukov says there have been many questions about Soviet-Israeli relations. Losev reminds that the USSR broke off diplomatic relations with Israel because of the latter's aggression against the Arab countries. Recently there have been signs that Israel intends to change its attitude toward an international conference on the Near East and also to reassess realistically the USSR's role and influence in this region, he notes. Losev compares Murphy's comment that the United States should seek ways of holding talks with the USSR on this matter with Kissinger's view expressed a few years ago that the Russians should be thrown out of the Near East. Belyayev, however, says he believes that one should not be too taken in by what Murphy said, because the "Americans are not yet ready to talk with us on equal terms."

Seyful-Mulyukov turns the discussion to the situation in the Persian Gulf. Peresypkin says the Gulf war has so far claimed about 1.2 million lives and is second only to World War II in the amount of economic damage that has been inflicted. "It seems to me," Peresypkin adds, "that we should all admit that a military victory—and this is the belief of the majority of experts—is virtually impossible, and therefore the war is essentially senseless. Moreover, and this is my second point, this war poisons the situation throughout the world and even more so in this region where it is inflicting economic damage on both Iraq and Iran."

He continues: "Naturally, the Soviet Union advocates an end to this senseless war and for a start to talks. I would like to stress that our interest in this problem may be explained not just by the fact that we are generally in favor of peace and for a renunciation of war as a means of settling political disputes, but also by a number of other considerations. We proceed from the fact that this conflict is raging not far from our borders. Iran is our neighbor, and we are committed to thinking about maintaining good and normal relations with that country. We are linked with Iraq by a treaty of friendship, and we have a number of mutually advantageous agreements on economic cooperation. In our contacts with Iranian representatives we are constantly urging the Iranians not to reject talks, but to sit down at the conference table and begin a dialogue with the Iraqis. We are convinced that when talks get underway, the guns will fall silent or at least will fire less.

"The Arabs frequently reproach us for maintaining active and diplomatic contacts with Iran, but we believe that this reproach is not really fair. Moreover, I would like to say that these contacts are necessary because all the contacts which we have with Iran amount in one way or another to convincing Tehran of the need to start talks and to end this war.

"I would also like to draw attention to this next point. We are currently emphasizing in every possible way the role of the United Nations in solving regional conflicts. And now the Iran-Iraq war has given us cause to assess positively the role of the United Nations when last year the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 598. As is known, Iraq accepted this resolution and Iran in fact rejected this resolution. In any case, we believe this resolution has not outlived its potential, and it is curious that it is not only we but also representatives of Arab states who acknowledge this. Quite recently, Foreign Minister Comrade Shevardnadze received here the so-called Committee of Seven, seven foreign ministers, and the sides—that is, the Soviet side and the Arab side—admitted that this resolution could serve as a basis for a normalization of the situation.

"I would like to stress the following point, and that is of course, in my view, that the United Nations can make its contribution to this matter. It seems to me that this organization, the Security Council, despite a number of resolutions which have been adopted and despite visits by high-ranking representatives, in particular the UN secretary general to Tehran and Baghdad, has still not exhausted its resources. And it seems to me that this war of the cities, which is becoming increasingly barbarous, should nudge the United Nations into taking some further step toward a normalization of this situation. I believe that, as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we will only welcome the United Nations' becoming more actively a part of a settlement to this dangerous armed conflict."

Belyayev closes the discussion on the Gulf war by describing the contradictory nature of the attitude of the other Arab countries toward it.

To a question on Al-Qadhdhafi, Peresypkin replies: "I was Soviet ambassador in Tripoli for about 2 years, having been moved there straight from North Yemen. Indeed, during my stay in Libya I had occasion to meet—I wouldn't say often—but I did meet with Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, whom they call leader of the September Revolution. This September Revolution took place in 1969, and next year we will be marking the 20th anniversary of that event. I formed the impression that Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi is indeed a major leader of the Arab world, who wants good for his people, who is conducting an active anti-imperialist policy, and thus earns precisely the hatred primarily of the United States and its allies."

Peresypkin adds: "As for foreign policy, Al-Qadhdhafi and his entourage are pursuing an active anti-imperialist policy, and it was precisely that active anti-imperialist policy which served as the reason for the raid by U.S.

aircraft in the spring of 1986. As I said, those were very difficult times for us and for the Soviet colony, and I should like to take advantage of being here to convey thanks to central television and our radio, because when we learned that following the raid there had not been a single Soviet casualty, we urgently wrote a telegram here to the Foreign Ministry and asked them to inform via our radio and television that no Soviet citizens had been affected by the U.S. raid. In total we had 6,000 Soviet citizens there.

"We have active economic cooperation with Libya, which is still continuing. Naturally all our specialists there were fulfilling their tasks. In any event, I think that undoubtedly Al-Qadhdhafi personally and the policy of Libya at any rate are not perceived unanimously all over the world, including in the Soviet Union. But it seems to me that we should now follow our formulae, I would call them restructured formulae, in the area of foreign policy, when we say that every country has the right to choose its own road, both at home and in foreign policy, that every country can construct its internal life in its own way, and as partners in this world. We must respect it, try to understand and not criticize and not reject immediately out of hand."

In response to a question on sales of arms in the Near East, Losev replies: "Everyone is selling arms in the Near East, including all the great powers." He talks about Chinese Silkworm missile sales and U.S. arms sales.

Seyful-Mulyukov asks him: "What about an embargo?"

Losev replies: "Yes, the embargo question. Of course, in order to put an end more quickly to this dangerous conflict, these deliveries of weapons should be stopped. But in that case there must be an honest observance of the decision which is adopted. You mustn't accept verbally, while secretly going behind the back of the UN Security Council and the international community to undermine that decision. And of course it would be completely impermissible to have a situation whereby the victims of aggression are unarmed, while the one who is carrying out aggression and expansion continues to receive these weapons."

Peresypkin intervenes: "Farid Mustafyevich, I should like to make a rejoinder. I want to say that we are not now denying arms supplies to Iraq, but only the sort of arms which can be used for defending the national territory. So the allegations of the Iranians that the USSR is supplying Baghdad with missiles with which they are shelling Iranian territory are entirely unjustified. Well, one can, of course, understand the feelings of the Iranians when they are mourning civilian deaths from Iraqi missile fire. But nevertheless, we do not consider that a reason for organizing hostile demonstrations outside the Soviet Embassy in Tehran and our consulate in Esfahan.

"And I should like to draw attention to a second aspect: The war has forced Iraq and Iran to transfer their economy on to military rails. They are producing a lot of weapons themselves, and the most dangerous thing is that there is evidence that they are starting to produce chemical weapons, while we are waging a struggle to ban these weapons."

Belyayev answers a question about how to conduct diplomacy in the Near East. He says: "I believe that the main thing in resolving all complex and difficult problems of the Near East comes down to two elements. The first is compromise, the second restraint. But when we speak of compromise and restraint, we must not forget the most important thing, that there are problems of principle such as the territorial problem, the Palestinian problem, the problem of guaranteeing an overall peace in the Near East. And everything connected with the Iran-Iraq war also needs both compromise and restraint to be cultivated in approaching the very question of halting that war. Perhaps the most basic thing that is required for the world finally to arrive at a settlement of the Near East problems is good will."

Sub-Saharan Africa

Zimbabwe's Mugabe Receives Petrovskiy

LD221317 Moscow TASS in English 1245 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Harare March 22 TASS—Robert Mugabe, president of Zimbabwe and head of the Non-Aligned Movement, received here today Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, who passed over to him an oral message of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The message pointed out that positive changes taking shape in international relations were the result of the cooperation of all the major political forces of today, including the Non-Aligned Movement. New vigorous efforts are needed today for developing the rejuvenation processes starting in international relations, for extending them to all the spheres of international relations, all the parts of the world, and for ensuring impressive advance along the path of the creation of a comprehensive system of peace and security.

The coming third special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament opens up new opportunities for vigorous actions. There exist favourable prospects for the settlement of conflict and crisis situations, for the solution of other problems facing humanity. The latest developments make especially clear the need for the dismantling of apartheid, for resolving the problem of Namibia, for stopping Pretoria's aggressive actions against neighbouring countries.

The message of the Soviet leader pointed out a constructive role played by the Non-Aligned Movement in world affairs and reiterated the Soviet Union's openness to an equitable dialogue and fruitful cooperation with non-aligned countries.

Robert Mugabe expressed high appreciation of practical steps taken by the Soviet leadership for putting into practice a new political thinking. He welcomed the signing of the Soviet-American INF treaty and expressed hope that the coming ratification would be followed by perceptible progress in the reduction of nuclear arsenals and in other spheres of disarmament. The president of Zimbabwe expressed confidence that the process of arms reduction and of the overcoming of confrontation created favourable conditions for untying the knots of regional crises and improving international economic relations. Moreover, it permits humanity to get down to the solution of problems connected with socio-economic development and of the global problems facing it.

Worldwide Action Urged Against South Africa
LD221052 Moscow Tass in English 0740 GMT 21 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Sergey Kulik:

Many people in Africa believe, and justly so, that the broad-based international movement against apartheid dates from March 1961.

It was then that the Pretoria regime drowned in blood a peaceful demonstration by Sharpeville blacks, by killing 67 and wounding another 250 people.

March 21 has since been observed, under a U.N. decision, as the international day of struggle for abolishing racial discrimination.

The tragedy which took place 27 years ago has reminded the international public of itself this year symbolically with the story of the "Sharpeville Six"—six patriots from the same city, who have been sentenced to death by racists on obviously fabricated charges.

Without having proved their complicity in the murder of a municipal collaborationist official during a demonstration in 1984, the racists were going to send the patriots to the gallows in effect just for their part in the anti-racist march.

All honest people on earth demanded that the Pretoria regime stop the executioner. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev urged the South African rulers to "come to their senses and heed the unanimous appeals of the world community".

The South African Supreme Court in these conditions has had to stay the execution by a month. The campaign to save the "Sharpeville Six" is continuing.

The Republic of South Africa has long held the unenviable records for both the number of political prisoners and the number of people executed for political reasons.

In 1987 alone 164 people were hanged in that country, which is often called "part and parcel of the Western world". Tens of thousands of black South Africans were arrested.

The attempt to kill the "Sharpeville Six" on a "legal basis" is further evidence of the South African authorities' striving to crush the democratic forces in that country with the help of violence.

It is less than a month since Pretoria's white authorities banned the political activities of a number of mass democratic organizations, including the United Democratic Front with three million followers and the Congress of South African Trade Unions with a membership of 700,000.

Such is the challenge thrown by the apartheid regime to all honest people in South Africa who are for freedom and justice and against oppression and rightlessness.

The war declared by the Botha government to these organizations favoring non-violent methods is another illustration of how disdainfully the South African people's desire for basic human rights is treated in Pretoria.

While claiming an intention to "liberalize" apartheid, the Botha government impudently ignores both the U.N. Charter and the universal declaration of human rights, whose 40th anniversary is observed this year.

In these conditions the world community should take effective measures to make South Africa follow the route of democratization and humanity.

The U.N. Security Council's embargo on arms supplies to South Africa must be observed fully and without fail.

A further step must be taken and comprehensive and mandatory sanctions imposed on the apartheid regime fully in keeping with the U.N. Charter.

The United States and Britain, which have blocked such sanctions in the Security Council repeatedly, have thus been actually vetoing the implementation of the black majority's rights and liberties in South Africa.

Each of their vetoes is increasing the West's share of responsibility for the bloody crimes of the white minority regime.

An international week for extirpating racism and racial discrimination opens today under a decision of the World Peace Council.

South Africa is the symbol of racism. Apartheid is doomed and can be saved neither by another wave of terror and repression nor by the continuing occupation of Namibia or acts of armed aggression against "front-line" nations.

Banking on force attests to the bankrupcy and viciousness of the racist system.

East Europe

Gorbachev SFRY Tour Highlights, Assessments

Luncheon Toast Noted

AU221706 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Mar p 3

[Mikhail Gorbachev's toast during a luncheon held in his honor by the leadership of the SR of Serbia in Belgrade on 16 March]

[Text] Respected Comrade Gracanin, respected Comrade Milosevic, dear friends.

First of all, I would like to express my thanks for the kind [lep] words that we have heard at this time, addressed to our country and people. I and my colleagues have been impressed by our friendly and warm reception by the highest organ of state authority and self-management, the SFRY Assembly.

This again affirms that the vanguard forces of Yugoslav society are struggling for an overall development of relations between our parties and countries which are based on the firm foundation of jointly established principles.

I will yet again confirm here that the Soviet party leadership also has the same intentions. I will say openly that no less important is the expression of the pleasant [lep] feelings which we, as well as you, had during our visit to the Ivo Lola Ribar factory and the meetings and discussions we have just had with working people and Belgrade citizens.

We are justified in saying that we, with you, are adequately expressing the desire of our peoples who aspire to a mutual rapprochement, an expansion of cooperation, and the strengthening of Soviet-Yugoslav friendship.

Dear friends, long and nice [lep] historical traditions from the past bind the Russian and Serbian peoples. Russia's best representatives have always viewed the liberation traditions of the southern Slavs with deep affinity, they came with help at the the most crucial turning points in their dramatic history. Hundreds of Russian soldiers fought in the Serbian Army, and the names of General Chernyayev and Colonel Rayevskiy have been immortalized in Belgrade.

Or, another irrefutable proof and example—this time from the history of our intellectual culture—is that our Pushkin translated the famous poems of the South Slavs collected by Vuk Karadzic.

Comrades, I think you will agree that there is what I call an inherent predisposition to kindness and a striving for friendship in the heart of every Russian and Serb.

To return to today's business, I want to share the following thought with you: Along with the development of Soviet-Yugoslav interstate relations as a whole, we are establishing links with you on a republican level. During negotiations with the LCY and SFRY leaderships, a real desire was expressed for the stimulation of relations along this additional track of cooperation. In this sense, the RSFSR and Serbia, for example, have made particular progress, but all possibilities have not been entirely exhausted. Today, now that we have decentralized the field of foreign economic relations, we have actually swept aside all barriers to the further working out of direct links between our enterprises and their partners from fraternal countries, and many new projects of mutual interest to the two countries will probably be realized. It would be nice if the Serbian and Russian peoples were to set a good example to our other republics.

I wish the party and state leaderships of Serbia further successes in the overall development of the republic and an increase in its contribution to the joint socialist cause of the people of Yugoslavia. I wish health and well-being to all comrades present here.

Krunic 18 Mar Dinner Speech

PM221111 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: Enriching Cooperation in All Spheres"]

[Excerpt] Dubrovnik, 18 Mar—L. Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, and B. Krunic, chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, gave a dinner Thursday in honor of M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

Members of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium and leaders of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and Dubrovnik also attended.

V.A. Medvedev, I.S. Silayev, V.F. Maltsev, and G.Kh. Shakhnazarov were present in the hall.

B. Krunic delivered a speech.

Comrade B. Krunic's Speech [subhead]

Dear Comrade Gorbachev!

Dear Soviet comrades!

Comrade Gorbachev's stay in Yugoslavia is drawing to a close and the time has come to sum up the results. Our country attaches particular significance to your visit. We approached it very attentively. We wanted to raise many questions and discuss many topics in which we were interested. I hope we have managed to do this. If we still have debts, we will return them. We wanted your visit to help strengthen the traditional friendship between the USSR and the SFRY and the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples. We wanted this visit to help open up new scope for developing and strengthening our cooperation. We are convinced that the expectations linked with it have materialized. An example is the fact that many very important documents have been adopted in the course of the visit.

We wanted to confirm the universal character of some of the principles on which our friendship is based and on which relations between our socialist states and Communist parties are founded. These principles are well known and we have reinforced them through this visit. We also wanted this visit to help develop creative dialogue on many questions of interparty cooperation, the situation in the world, and, in particular, on questions of the international workers movement. This dialogue is developing on a very good basis. We regard your visit as very fruitful and I believe we have thus made a commitment to continue to work to strengthen our cooperation in all spheres, enrich bilateral relations, and develop socialist thought and practice.

We still have to resolve many questions not only in the development of economic ties but also in the sphere of science, culture, and cooperation at the level of sister cities, oblasts, and republics, youth organizations, labor collectives, and specialized and creative organizations. There must be less ostentatiousness and more content and professionalism in all this.

The course of the talks has shown that we have the same opinion on many questions which we are encountering. In our frank conversations we made known the problems existing in each other's countries. We established that we are running up against the same difficulties despite the fact that the paths of the development of society do not always coincide in our countries. Of course, in our country we will gear efforts toward strengthening self-management relations and, despite all the difficulties which we are encountering, we will adhere to the charted program direction. We have firmly resolved to implement the principles of enhancing the LCY's leading role and reinforcing in it the force of ideas and not the force of administration by decree.

We have many economic difficulties in our country and they demand the maximum mobilization of forces. This applies above all to curbing inflation, which is having an adverse effect on our economic development. We must accelerate the implementation of economic reforms and rapidly resolve many problems facing us to rid the human and material potential of voluntarism, make fuller use of the achievements of science in developing the country, rely even more on our own forces, and develop relations with all the countries of the world on this basis.

We are proceeding on the basis that socialist thought and practice conform increasingly boldly with the call of the times. This is prompted above all by the scientific and technical revolution and also by the demands of working people and the tasks of humanizing and improving working and living conditions. This demands new content and scope in the development of democracy. We are confident that this is also the task of socialism today.

We wrote 30 years ago in the LCY's program that nothing once created is sacred and cannot be replaced with something more sacred and pure. Tito taught us by his own deeds how to understand this thought in practice and how to implement it. We will focus our attention and efforts on this today and in the future and make our contribution to the development of Marxist thought. It seems to us that socialism is shaking off dogmatism in theory and practice more and more successfully, opening up broad horizons for the creative application of Marxist thought. The recent meeting in Moscow of the representatives of Communist parties and all progressive movements convinced us of this.

It would be good to recall days of old when Lenin during the revolutionary period often recalled Goethe's lines regarding the fact that theory is dry but the tree of life is eternally green. It follows from this that we must avoid conservatism in the development of socialist thought and have a creative attitude to the ideas of creating a society for the good of man imbued with socialist humanism. All the conversations which we have held have shown that these aims are shared by both the CPSU and the LCY. [passage omitted]

Raisa Gorbacheva's Tour Detailed

PM171925 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS special correspondent dispatch: "Acquaintance With Belgrade"]

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar—Fruitful cooperation links the National Museum in Belgrade with many Soviet cultural establishments. Tens of thousands of inhabitants and guests of the Yugoslav capital have acquainted themselves with great interest with a recent exhibition "The Treasures of the Moscow Kremlin" and and an exhibition from the Leningrad Hermitage collection held here.

Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva visited the National Museum. Its director Jevto Jevtovic briefed her on the work of one of Yugoslavia's oldest cultural enlightenment and scientific establishments. Artifacts of Serbia's material culture and art from ancient times to the present are housed here. The museum's treasures include

painting and sculpture collections by Yugoslav and foreign masters and archaeology exhibits of prehistoric, antique, and medieval origin. Wide-ranging research work is carried out at the museum and publications relating to archaeology and the history of culture and art are issued here.

In one of the museum's halls R.M. Gorbacheva met with Yugoslav cultural workers. A lively conversation on various problems of concern to workers in this sphere of social life took place. During the conversation the important role of the two countries' cooperation in the sphere of culture in the interests of strengthened friendship and mutual understanding was stressed. R.M. Gorbacheva gave an account of the work of the Soviet Culture Foundation.

Having expressed cordial thanks for the opportunity to acquaint herself with the National Museum, she went on to say: "Meetings like this one are a sign of great understanding for our motherland, the Soviet people, and all that is being done in the USSR today. We must protect Soviet-Yugoslav friendship and develop our cooperation."

R.M. Gorbacheva toured the city.

The face of Belgrade today is not only the old part of the city which preserves its age-old history but also its new construction which is graphic evidence of the development of the country's main city over the years of socialist building.

Cerak-Vinogradi is one of many housing developments which have appeared on the map of Belgrade over the last decade. Some 32,000 inhabitants of Belgrade are living in this cozy settlement, which fits in beautifully with the surrounding landscape in accordance with a design by Milena Marusic. Among them is the Vuckovic family, on whom R.M. Gorbacheva paid a visit. Zorica works as a nurse in a kindergarten, Rajko is a hotel employee, and their children Ana and Djordje go to junior school. An interesting conversation was held about the place of the family in society, about its role in the upbringing of the rising generation, and problems which interest all young parents.

At the "Djecji Gaj" nursery the young boys and girls met R.M. Gorbacheva with ringing, cheerful voices and the fiery national dance "kolo." Their teachers gave an account of preschool education in Yugoslavia. A lively conversation was held about the position and role of working mothers in society. The staff of the children's establishment gratefully accepted a gift of a library of children's books by Soviet authors in Serbo-Croatian.

R.M. Gorbacheva visited one of the direct-sales stores of the "Simpo" furniture combine, which has successfully cooperated with similar Soviet enterprises for the last 20 years.

R.M. Gorbacheva was accompanied on her tour of Belgrade by Ljiljana Mojsov and Milena Orlandic.

LCY Presidium Endorses Visit

LD230723 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] The LCY Central Committee Presidium has highly rated the outcome of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to the country. At a session held on Tuesday it was noted that the visit by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary was a new and significant impetus to the further development of stable and all-round Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation. The LCY Central Committee Presidium stressed the significance of the Yugoslav-Soviet declaration adopted during the visit, in which the democratic principle of relations between the two countries and parties are again reaffirmed, and noted that this document is of broad international significance.

Relations Reach 'New Heights'

PM231139 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Nikolay Yermolovich "Theme of the Day" article: "USSR-SFRY: New Heights"]

[Text] Belgrade, Ljubljana, and Dubrovnik are the cities in the hospitable land of Yugoslavia which last week played host to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

The very strenuous program combined visits to giant industrial facilities and places memorable in the history of our peoples, talks with officials, and a large number of planned and completely chance meetings. The visit was expected, plans were laid for it, of course, and now that it is over it is appropriate to quote the Soviet leader's words summarizing the results of the visit: "...We are leaving fraternal Yugoslavia firmly convinced that the entire complex of Soviet-Yugoslav relations are scaling new heights. This was the purpose of the visit."

New heights... They were outlined immediately during the first contacts and conversations, which took place in a comradely working environment and in an atmosphere of friendship and complete frankness. There were talks which often lasted longer than planned and which featured an open and lively dialogue. There were no formal reports or narrow range of prearranged themes, as in the past. The discussion broached a broad range of domestic and international problems.

The general background to the visit was of considerable significance: the mass, spontaneous demonstrations of Yugoslav friendliness and cordiality and, in M.S. Gorbachev's own words, their boundless hospitality. All this of course could not fail to influence the official part of the visit.

Speaking in the SFRY Federal Assembly, the Soviet leader felt it necessary to return to the history of our relations to emphasize the significance of the conclusions which we have drawn from the lessons of the past. To build our relations on the firm and strict basis of full equality of rights, independence, and mutual respect. The immutability of these principles was confirmed in the joint declaration.

The visit provided an opportunity to get to know the country better and to obtain a fuller idea of its people's life and work. Our Yugoslav friends' attention to our restructuring shows no signs of abating either. This mutual interest is profoundly objective and not accidental. There are many common problems and coincidences in the lives of the two countries. There are the complexities of economic reform, further democratization, and the forms and methods of management. They began in our countries at different times—thus it is all the more interesting to compare and contrast them.

Some very important documents were adopted during the visit. They include the Long-Term Program for Economic Cooperation Between the USSR and the SFRY for the Period Through 2000. It makes qualitative changes to the content of our economic cooperation and envisages the need for a fundamental technological breakthrough. New prospects are appearing before the Soviet and Yugoslav national economies.

We want to see Yugoslavia as a strong, united, and prosperous socialist state. We want to work together with it for lasting peace and the solution of other urgent present-day problems. Those, too, are among the visit's results.

Leaders on 'All-Embracing' Talks

PM221139 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Important Positive Results. Yugoslav Leaders on Meetings With M.S. Gorbachev"]

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Mar—The official friendly visit of M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to Yugoslavia was extremely successful in terms of both the openness of the dialogue and the wide range of questions examined, L. Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, declared in a TANJUG interview. It is possible to say, he pointed out, that there was not a single question in the sphere of bilateral relations and international life which was not at the center of attention in the broad and open exchange of opinions.

Our talks were of a multifaceted, all-embracing nature. An important document was adopted during the visit—the Soviet-Yugoslav Declaration, which not only confirmed the principles contained in the 1955 and 1956 documents but also developed them in accordance with the present state of our relations and the situation in the world.

During the talks, the Yugoslav leader pointed out, great attention was devoted to USSR-SFRY relations and to an exchange of opinions on the problems which our countries are encountering at the contemporary stage of their development. M.S. Gorbachev spoke of the present phase of Soviet society's development, and we familiarized ourselves more closely with the problems which the Soviet Union is resolving.

The talks on the potential and the prospects for the further development of economic cooperation were very important. We expressed a mutual desire to enrich cooperation with new forms and devoted special attention to defining the prospects for long-term collaboration.

M.S. Gorbachev's visit was also very successful regarding the exchange of opinions on international problems, L. Mojsov said, in the context of the initiatives aimed at democratizing international relations and eliminating hotbeds of tension in the world.

B. Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, evaluated the results of the Soviet-Yugoslav talks as very positive. He emphasized in a TANJUG interview that the Soviet leader's visit is of great significance for the further development of USSR-SFRY relations and is a significant event in the international arena. The talks with M.S. Gorbachev were held in a frank and comradely atmosphere. It was not a series of monologues but a protracted dialogue in which opinions interwove, ideas were advanced, and the best solutions were sought. It was clear that there exists a high degree of proximity or coincidence of opinions on many international problems and also on questions of the development of socialism and relations in the Communist and workers movement.

The restructuring and new thinking, which characterize the present political moment in the Soviet Union, B. Krunic pointed out, also open up scope for our mutual cooperation and better mutual understanding. These processes and also the search for different ways and forms of building socialism are freeing socialist thought of dogmatic introversion [zamknutost].

TASS, BORBA View Gorbachev Initiative

LD221127 Moscow TASS in English 1108 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade March 22 TASS—Analyzing the military and political situation in the area of the Mediterranean Sea, the Yugoslav newspaper BORBA writes today: The initiative advanced by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in the Federal Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is of tremendous importance to further developing international relations, detente, the process to attain an accord on disarmament, and also to our country's security.

It is sensible and positive not only because of the very fact that disarmament cannot be effected in one field whereas the race to achieve the impossible—preponderance over the other side—is continued in other fields, in Europe, or the Mediterranean.

The proposal aired cannot be viewed from the standpoint of who win or who lose. An agreement can exist only in case all stand to benefit from it. Today, we witness exactly this state of matter. Someone in the United States can say that the USSR benefits from a freeze on naval forces and the eventual limit of their strength. However, the damage is not and cannot be caused to the United States either. The risk of the outbreak of war and a war itself cannot benefit anyone. Retaining the armed forces at such a great distance cannot do good to the United States bearing in mind the vast expenditures on their maintenance. The deficit in the military budget, which exceeds 200 billion dollars, forcefully confirms this thesis.

The initiative designed to lower the level of armaments in the Mediterranean is of immense significance to our country and all small and non-aligned states in that part of the world. It signals or can signal an end to rivalry between the great powers, the attempt to bridge disagreements by reasonable methods, brings peace to this region where it was always to desperately needed.

Further on Official Visit by SED's Sindermann

Talks With Gromyko

LD151619 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1306 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 15 Mar (ADN)—The delegation from the GDR People's Chamber, led by People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann, SED Central Committee Politburo member, was received in the Kremlin on Tuesday for a several-hour talk by the chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Andrey Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member.

During the meeting Horst Sindermann conveyed the fraternal greetings of Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR Council of State chairman, to the Soviet head of state. These were reciprocated by Andrey Gromyko with cordial words. Both politicians stressed the unanimity of views on consolidating the fraternal alliance and affirmed the coordinated foreign policy of the Warsaw Pact states.

The talk between Andrey Gromyko and the GDR representative centered on the experiences of the two sides in the interparliamentary activity of the highest popular representative bodies within the framework of the peace offensive of the Warsaw Pact states, and on an exchange of views on the effectiveness of the parliaments in implementing socioeconomic policy in the two friendly countries.

Horst Sindermann and Andrey Gromyko were in agreement in emphasizing that the joint peace offensive by the Warsaw Pact states has prepared favorable ground for the worldwide struggle by the peoples for peace and disarmament. The treaty between the USSR and the United States on the complete elimination of their nuclear missiles of intermediate- and shorter-range proved the real possibility of an prospects for the USSR's proposals for making the world nuclear weapon-free by the end of the millenium. It was now the responsibility of all peoples and governments to use the chances for further nuclear disarmament and not to pause in this process. Particular responsibility was imposed upon the parliaments of all states, the regional parliamentary organizations, and also the Interparliamentary Union (IPU) constantly to give a new impetus to the peoples' desire for the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust and peaceful cooperation.

During the talk, Horst Sindermann and Andrey Gromyko briefed one another on the activities of the highest popular representative bodies of the GDR and the USSR in the intensification of political dialogue for more trusting East-West relations. One could note that the readiness for a completely new political approach to the burning problems of our time was greater in the case of many parliamentarians and that the recognition had increased of the need to replace the policy of strength and military confrontation by creating a comprehensive system of international security. This would open up undreamed-of possibilities for peaceful cooperation in all areas and regions in the service of man.

Horst Sindermann described the initiatives of many parliamentarians in Europe aimed at the creation of nuclear and chemical weapon-free zones in the various regions as an active contribution by parliaments toward making peace on our continent more secure and stable. It was the particular concern of the GDR People's Chamber to help to lead these initiatives in northern, central, and southeastern Europe to concrete results to ease the way for further disarmament steps in the nuclear and in the conventional area.

He spoke about the worldwide positive response to the "International Meeting for Nuclear Weapon-Free Zones," in June 1988 in Berlin, initiated by Erich Honecker, and about the initiative of the GDR People's Chamber in issuing invitations to a meeting of parliamentarians from the Baltic littoral states in the spring of 1989 under the slogan "The Baltic: A Sea of Peace."

In the course of the talk, proposals were for even more intensive and effective cooperation between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the GDR People's Chamber.

For instance, an intensification of the exchange of views between the parliamentary committees, particularly in the areas of industry and agriculture, is envisaged. Study groups from the two parliaments will have the opportunity to learn about each other's experiences involving the

youth policies of the highest popular representative bodies, in improving socialist legal systems, and in the broadest possible involvement of voters in the management and planning of the social processes in the two countries. Considerable attention also will be given to increasing the role of local representative bodies.

Arrives in Kiev

LD161317 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1236 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Kiev, 16 Mar (ADN)—The delegation from the GDR's highest popular representative body, led by People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann, SED Central Committee Politburo member, arrived in Kiev at midday today for a 2-day visit to the Ukraine. On the agenda are talks at the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, as well as visits to industrial and agricultural enterprises.

Horst Sindermann and the other members of the delegation laid wreathes and flowers at the Lenin Memorial and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Kiev.

Visits With Shcherbitskiy

LD181004 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, yesterday received Horst Sindermann, SED Central Committee Politburo member and GDR People's Chamber president. It was noted during the ensuing talk that relations between the USSR and the GDR are ascending to a qualitatively new level and are growing richer, with new and more progressive forms of cooperation. The accords reached during the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR Council of State chairman, serve as mighty impulses for these processes.

Vladimir Vasilyevich Shcherbitskiy and Horst Sindermann expressed the thought that it is important in the all-round interaction between the two countries to use to a greater extent all contacts between the supreme and local organs of people's power for sharing experience in solving the tasks of further advancement in socialist construction. They stressed the role of parliamentarians of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and other socialist countries in the struggle for a nuclear-free world and disarmament and for strengthening European and international security. The signing of the U.S.-USSR agreement on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was in line with these aims.

Comrade Shcherbitskiy then briefed the guest on the work of the republic's party and government organs in fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee at the new stage of restructuring. He noted the topicality and importance of the processes of democratization taking place in the Soviet Union and which are directed at full harnessing of opportunities and creative potential.

Horst Sindermann then informed his host of the course of realizing the line formulated at the 11th SED Congress for increasing the efficiency of the national economy and deepening the interconnection between the social and economic policies. He also dwelled on the role of people's power in the further construction of developed socialist society [words indistinct].

In the talk, which passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendly mutual understanding, there took part Velikhov, chairman of the Energy Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union, who is accompanying the delegation on its tour of the country; Bakhtin, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deputy chairman; Maksimyuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Foreign Affairs; and Vrublevskiy, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

Participating on the GDR side were: Albrecht and Sorgenich, deputies of the GDR People's Chamber and [passage indistinct]. Also participating in the talks were Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR, and Holdtke, GDR consul-general in Kiev.

Meets Avgust Voss

LD182127 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1416 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 18 Mar (ADN)—A delegation of the supreme people's representation of the GDR, led by People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann, SED Central Committee Politburo member, at the conclusion of its 5-day visit to the USSR on Friday met with Avgust Voss, chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, and other representatives of the Council of the Union and Council of Nationalities and with members of permanent commissions, for a friendly conversation.

During the extensive exchange of opinions and experience, the two sides expressed satisfaction at the progress achieved in the further deepening of their cooperation. In this way, an important contribution is being made toward strengthening the fraternal alliance and implementing the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist countries. The interlocutors stressed the responsibility of parliamentarians for the implementation of the policy of dialogue for the promotion of detente and disarmament.

In this connection, Avgust Voss welcomed the GDR initiative to hold a parliamentarians' meeting of Baltic states under the motto "The Baltic—A Sea of Peace" early in 1989. At the same time, the great importance of

the international meeting for nuclear-free zones initiated by Erich Honecker, to take place in June in Berlin, was emphasized. The two parties discussed concrete measures for yet more intensive and effective cooperation between the popular representations. It was agreed to supplement the official visits by parliamentary delegations with working visits by deputations of committees and permanent commissions as well as by study delegations of deputies. They are to make comprehensive and detailed studies of new experiences in industry, construction and transport, agriculture and other spheres.

During a meal which Avgust Voss gave in honor of the People's Chamber delegation, Horst Sindermann stressed that the talks showed how cooperation is being carried out at a higher level, the level of joint work and concrete agreements.

The chairman of the Council of Nationalities stated that in this way a contribution to the all-around deepening of friendly relations between the two fraternal countries, parties, and peoples is being made.

CPSU Wishes Success to Polish Peasant Party

PM211505 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[Undated, untitled CPSU Central Committee message to the 10th Congress of Poland's United Peasant Party]

[Text] To the 10th Congress of the Polish United Peasant Party [ZSL]

The CPSU Central Committee cordially greets the delegates to the 10th Congress of the ZSL—A reliable ally of the PZPR in the struggle to build socialism in Poland—and wishes it success in its work.

The Soviet Union is well aware of the great contribution made by the peasant movement to the rebirth of the Polish state. Relying on these progressive and democratic traditions, the ZSL today actively participates in the implementation of the course of socialist renewal and national concord which accords with the vital interests of people's Poland.

We give a high assessment to the ZSL's activity in strengthening friendship and developing all-around cooperation between our fraternal countries and peoples and to its peace-loving efforts in the international arena.

May the indestructible Soviet-Polish friendship strengthen and develop!

The CPSU Central Committee

ZSL Responds to Greeting

PM231243 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Joint Principles"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The congress delegates adopted a reply message to the CPSU Central Committee greetings to the 10th United Peasant Party [ZSL] Congress. We were profoundly satisfied and grateful, the document states, to see the greetings as an expression of the high assessment of the ZSL's activity. The ZSL—A reliable ally and partner of the PZPR—will continue to make every effort to build socialist Poland and to strengthen friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. We are also inspired by Lenin's ideas and the similarities between the Polish line of socialist renewal and Soviet restructuring.

The Soviet Union's peace-loving foreign policy course, the historic peace program to rid the planet of nuclear weapons, M.S. Gorbachev's tireless activity, and his creative contribution to building a world without war or violence are of immense importance. This activity is extensively supported by our peasant movement and the Polish countryside, which suffered so greatly during World War II. We are convinced that through joint efforts all people of goodwill will rid the world of the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

May the inviolable Polish-Soviet alliance and friendship strengthen and develop, the message stresses.

Jaruzelski on 'Transformations,' 'Breakthrough'

LD212135 Moscow TASS in English 2130 GMT 21 Mar 88

[Text] Warsaw March 21 TASS—The programme of radical economic and political transformations, being carried out in the Polish People's Republic on the initiative of the Polish United Workers' Party, opens up possibilities for a breakthrough in the country's development. This was stated by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, president of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, He made a speech at the tenth congress of the United Peasant Party, which opened here today. The congress is discussing the role of the United Peasant Party in solving topical tasks of socialist development in the Polish People's Republic.

The agrarian policy principles, jointly outlined by the Polish United Workers' Party and the United Peasant Party, have proved right in practice and are producing a tangible effect. The accomplishments of the past few years are indisputable, said the Polish leader, but the requirements of the countryside are, as before, great.

The Polish United Workers Party and the United Peasant Party have the will to promote in a wise, fast and efficient way the advancement of agriculture. We are

invariably following the lines of socialist renovation, are broadening the spheres of national concord, said Wojciech Jaruzelski. Our parties are successors of traditions and unity of action of the working people, the guarantors of the present-day alliance of the workers and peasants. The coalition principle of exercising powers is an inseparable link of the Polish model of socialist democracy.

Touching upon international problems, Wojciech Jaruzelski has said that Poland is carrying out an open policy vis-a-vis peace. The Polish People's Republic maintains close, mutually beneficial, partnership relations with the Soviet Union, other socialist countries. Poland is also striving to develop cooperation with other countries. Poland could be advancing much faster and using in a better way the results of the reform, provided genuine normalisation of financial-credit relations with the West.

Orzechowski Addresses Sejm on USSR Ties

PM161611 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "On the Basis of Complete Trust"]

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Mar—During the recent period Polish-Soviet relations have been substantially enriched and have become stronger than ever before. This was stated by M. Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Polish foreign affairs minister, addressing the first sitting of the spring session of the Polish Sejm today. A new, extraordinarily important feature of the ties between the two fraternal countries is partnership and cooperation based on complete trust and respect.

We regard the development of the relations with the USSR, he stressed, as a multifaceted process of elaborating new content and forms of political partnership, expanding economic relations on the basis of direct ties between enterprises, developing contacts between organizations, and expanding exchanges in the cultural sphere. We will continue to give concrete expression to the declaration on Soviet-Polish cooperation in the sphere of ideology, science, and culture. This will contribute to the establishment of qualitatively new relations between the peoples of the two countries. The coincidence of our plans with the endeavors of the Soviet side and our sincere mutual interest in their implementation, M. Orzechowski said, give us confidence that these plans will be crowned with good results.

Dwelling on the positive changes in the international arena, the minister noted that the new thinking, a concept put foward by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, was gaining ground. The results of the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington and the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles are vivid expressions of this process. This result has been achieved thanks to the consistent, principled, and at the same time flexible policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, he stressed.

The session was attended by W. Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and Polish Council of State chairman.

'Qualitatively New State'

PM171855 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "New Stage"]

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Mar—Relations between the Soviet Union and Poland have reached a qualitatively new stage of development characterized by true partnership and trust and a genuine need for mutual aid and support. M. Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Polish foreign minister, stated this at a news conference in Warsaw. He stressed that the climate of contacts between the USSR and Poland had changed. There is none of the former officialdom and ostentation which accompanied ties between the two countries in the past. Most attention is now focused on the content of cooperation, not on its external manifestations.

PZPR Politburo Approves Orzechowski Visit

PM231217 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 88 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Results Approved"]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Mar—At a session held here the PZPR Central Committee Politburo has approved the results of the official friendly visit to the USSR by M. Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Polish foreign minister. The need for the timely and full implementation of the accords concerning the further development of Soviet-Polish relations secured in the course of the visit was indicated. The PZPR Central Committee Politburo stressed that the official visit to Poland by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev this summer will be of tremendous significance for the prospect of developing USSR-Polish relations, will be an event of historic significance in Soviet-Polish relations, and will fundamentally deepen the process of strengthening the friendship, cooperation, and rapprochement between the two countries and peoples.

The session examined the course of the implementation of the PZPR Central Committee decisions on questions of developing and improving the national education system. Having pointed out that party decisions are being fulfilled with insufficient vigor in a number of areas, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo noted the need for their speediest implementation. The further improvement of the content and methods of education and the qualitative and quantitative reinforcing of teaching personnel and education's material and technical base were deemed to be of particular importance. Steps must be taken in the spirit of the transformations taking place in the country to provide young people with legal

and economic education, give them labor instruction, and inculcate in them an aware civic attitude based on the values of socialist humanism, the session indicated.

Use, Resolution of Historical 'Blank Spots'

PM221459 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[O. Losoto article under the rubric "International Notes": "Responses..."]

[Text] It has long been noted that nothing happens straightforwardly. People in here say something and others respond. Or the other way around—people there say something and people here respond. Judge for yourselves.

The second session of the joint commission of Soviet and Polish scientists on the history of relations between the two countries—or, as is now said, the question of so-called "blank spots"—has been held in Warsaw in accordance with the Declaration of Soviet-Polish Cooperation in the Sphere of Ideology, Science, and Culture.

Both PRAVDA and the PZPR Central Committee organ TRYBUNA LUDU have carried discussions by the leaders of the Soviet and Polish sides of the commission on the results of the session, unanimously noting that both sides have already done definite work in researching Soviet-Polish relations in 1917-1945. Great work lies ahead. A specific research plan has been outlined. Of course, and this is entirely understandable, one would like the most urgent questions to be resolved as quickly as possible. But we must be realistic. It will take time to investigate the complex interweaving of events and facts relating to individual "blank spots" in the history of relations between the two countries. Scrupulousness will be needed in studying documents, as will an accurate quest for the historical truth.

Yes, the commission has moved forward in resolving the outlined questions, and this has directly alarmed certain people. We are nearing the point where the list of "blank spots" can be entirely removed from the agenda. How will Western propaganda and the enemies of socialist Poland within the country operate without these "blank spots," which they have often used to whip up public sentiments?

Judge for yourselves. The Western mass media recently reported that a group of Polish intellectuals had written an open letter to representatives of the Soviet scientific and cultural world demanding that the whole truth about Katyn be revealed. This at a time when Soviet and Polish historians are working on the elaboration of this vexed question. Speaking at a recent Sejm session, Professor Jarema Maczizewski, chairman of the Polish side of the Soviet-Polish joint commission, said that none of the commission members would dodge one of the most tragic words—Katyn. In this, as in any other question, scientific accuracy is needed. One kind half-truth should not be replaced by another. It is not the kind of problem, the Polish scholar noted, on which hypotheses can be publicly aired. It is such a complex matter that there should be unusually painstaking and accurate research into source material. It is not a question of sensations. It is a question of revealing the whole truth and eradicating the nagging doubts which still remain in the minds of the two fraternal and friendly peoples. It is a question of maintaining the conviction that the work done will serve the future by revealing the entire legacy of the past—the bad and the good—the scholar concluded.

This was discussed at a news conference by J. Urban, the Polish Government press spokesman, who noted that research is continuing into the problems of the Katyn tragedy, and its results should not be anticipated. This work will take a number of years.

But—would you believe it—there have been responses.... Well-known radio voices which are past masters at various kinds of propaganda subversion and other Western mass media organs have rushed out commentaries, guesses, and insinuations. Clearly, things cannot be particularly wonderful with Lech Walesa and his campaign if they are rushing to get involved with problems which are already near conclusion. One cannot fail to agree with TRYBUNA LUDU, which, in commenting on the letter, wrote: "The concerns of the antisocialist opposition in Poland and its desire to artificially maintain its presence and look for a ruckus at every turn are resulting in the opposition even making initiatives which for decades were fundamental in the activity of Polish left-wing forces. The letter, for instance, talks about the 'hopes of a breakthrough in relations between our peoples.' This initiative in implementing a 'breakthrough' in Polish-Soviet relations is belated on two counts: First, because it has already happened—more than 40 years ago; second, because a powerful new boost to the strengthening of Polish-Soviet friendship was provided by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress. This resulted in the Declaration on Soviet-Polish Cooperation in the Sphere of Ideology, Science, and Culture, the signing of which took place last April. Work in accordance with the spirit of this declaration encompasses a considerably more extensive range of problems and is deeper than the demands made in the letter."

Now a few words about the signatures on the letter. Here too things are quite complex. People who are by no means intellectuals stand alongside truly deserving figures in Polish science and culture (I do not know how the signatures were collected). The reasoning is simple: Perhaps somebody—and not just the Voice of America or the BBC—will think they are indeed intellectuals.

Anyway, there have been responses....

Sharapov Replaces Ambassador to Bulgaria Grekov

LD191450 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1418 GMT 19 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 19 Mar (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Viktor Sharapov as USSR ambassador to the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Viktor Sharapov was born in 1931. He worked as a journalist in the PRC and as deputy editor of the socialist countries' section of PRAVDA. Since 1982 he has been an assistant to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Leonid Grekov has been released from his post as Soviet ambassador to the People's Republic of Bulgaria in connection with his transfer to a new post.

West Europe

Zagladin Meets With Italian Politicians

LD191203 Moscow TASS in English 1145 GMT 19 Mar 88

[Text] Rome March 19 TASS—Member of the CPSU Central Committee, First Deputy Head of the CPSU Central Committee's International Department Vadim Zagladin, now staying here at the invitation of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party, had a meeting with Political Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party Bettino Craxi and his deputy Claudio Martelli, Political Secretary of the Italian Social Democratic Party Antonio Cariglia. Discussed were questions of the situation in Europe, specifically the Mediterranean in the light of the proposals which were put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Belgrade, the Middle East situation and also prospects of a dialogue and cooperation of European left forces, development of contacts between the CPSU, the Italian Socialist Party and the Italian Social Democratic Party.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Meetings in Norway

LD220957 Moscow TASS in English 0858 GMT 21 Mar 88

[Text] Oslo March 22 TASS—The group of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet with Valentina Shevchenko, vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at their head met on March 21 with Norway's Minister for Foreign Affairs Thorvald Stoltenberg. A frank exchange of views was held on topical disarmament issues. Special attention was devoted to a discussion of the possible ways for the implementation of the Soviet initiatives put forward in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Murmansk and specified during the visit to Norway of Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Questions pertaining to Soviet-Norwegian relations were also discussed.

Both sides expressed interest in their further progressive development.

On the same day, the head of the Soviet delegation met with representatives of Norway's women organizations and the leadership of the Norway-Soviet Union society.

Delegation Ends Visit

LD230944 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0730 GMT 23 Mar 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast—announcer-read TASS report]

[Text] A group of USSR Supreme Soviet delegates headed by Comrade Shevchenko, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is touring the countries of northern Europe, has completed its working visit to Norway. In Oslo the members of the delegation met with Norwegian Foreign Minister Stoltenberg, the leadership and leaders of parliamentary parties of the Storting, and representatives of women's organizations. They also visited the Norway-USSR friendship society.

Consultations With UK Foreign Office Group

LD220846 Moscow TASS in English 0824 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Soviet-British consultations on foreign policy planning took place at the Foreign Ministry of the USSR on March 21 and 22.

The officials from the British Foreign Office were headed by the leader of its planning group David Gore-Booth and the representatives of the Soviet Foreign Ministry were led by Lev Mendelevich, a member of its Collegium and chief of its Directorate for Assessments and Planning.

Gore-Booth had a substantive meeting with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Nikiforov.

The British officials had meetings also at the Institute of European Studies, the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations and the Institute of African Studies under the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Envoy in UK Delivers Donation to Aid Fund

LD181149 Moscow TASS in English 1109 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] London March 18 TASS—The Soviet donation to the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa has been presented at the USSR Embassy in Britain. USSR Ambassador to Britain Leonid Zamyatin turned over to Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, the chairman of the organization, a cheque for 40,000 dollars. The International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa is an anti-racist organization assisting political prisoners in the jails of the apartheid regime and their families.

FRG's Brandt To Visit USSR 4-6 April

LD202133 Moscow TASS in English 2110 GMT 20 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—The newspaper "PRAVDA" reports that on April 4-6 there will be a visit to the USSR by Willy Brandt, chairman of the Socialist International and honorary chairman of the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany.

Soviet, Portugal Friendship Groups Sign Accord

LD162127 Moscow TASS in English 1921 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—The USSR-Portugal and the Portugal-USSR Friendship Societies today signed here a protocol for cooperation in 1988 and 1989.

Speaking at the ceremony, Professor Antonio Avelas Nunes, acting president of the Portugal-USSR Society, said the Soviet Union's foreign policies, especially its initiatives for averting nuclear catastrophe, are in the focus of international attention.

So-called citizens' diplomacy by non-governmental organizations, he continued, plays an important role in efforts for peace as well and "we believe that by their activities and their will for peace these organizations, which express the will of the popular masses, will compel the governments and heads of state to ease tension and develop cooperation among nations".

Antonio Avelas Nunes in conclusion voiced the hope that Soviet-Portuguese cooperation, which has kept developing ever more successfully, will constitute an important contribution to popular efforts for peace and security.

Georgiy Ivanov, chairman of the USSR-Portugal Society, also spoke highly of the role of citizens' diplomacy.

He said the activities of both the Portugal-USSR and the USSR-Portugal friendship societies are multifaceted and promote closer cooperation between the two countries, especially in culture, science and sport.

Turkish CP Leader Facing Prison Term

LD230726 Moscow TASS in English 0606 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Istanbul March 22 TASS—Istanbul Public Prosecutor's Office has instituted new criminal proceedings against Haydar Kutlu, general secretary of the Central Committee of the outlawed Communist Party of Turkey, the newspaper MILLIYET reported today.

Kutlu is charged with activities with a view of "establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the country" and he faces a prison term from nine to 21 years.

Kutlu was arrested last November together with Nihat Sargin, secretary general of the Workers' Party of Turkey, right on their return to Turkey from abroad. A law suit was then filed against them on charges of anti-state activities.

Greek CP Statement on Jubilee Anniversary

LD201422 Moscow TASS in English 1354 GMT 20 Mar 88

[Text] Athens March 20 TASS—A statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, "70 years of struggle and the contribution of the Communist Party of Greece," has been distributed here in connection with the November 1988 glorious jubilee of the spirited vanguard of the Greek working people.

The Communist Party of Greece, the party waging struggle for the rights of the people, progress, for peace, democracy and socialism is to turn 70 this year, the statement says. Since the first years of its formation the Communist Party introduced revolutionary ideas into Greek society, enriched the emergent working class movement with the theory of scientific socialism and turned it into a major force of progress of the country. It has become the mouthpiece of new humanism, upholding such values as solidarity, social justice, creative labour, struggle for independent Greece, for development and progress.

The activities of the Communist Party of Greece are inseparably linked with the struggle of the working people for their rights, for the rights of women, for the right of all to education. The Communist Party of Greece has become in the country a major democratic force, the champion of new socialist democracy which makes all the working people masters of their future, the statement says.

The party is waging struggle for national independence. Being a highly patriotic party, the Communist Party of Greece combines protection of the national interests with the internationalist solidarity with the struggle waged by the peoples and working people in all parts of the world for national and social liberation. It firmly supports the USSR and other socialist countries in their efforts aimed at socialist development and progress, the statement underlines.

The statement stresses the need of unity of all left forces in the struggle for changes and for ideals of socialism. The Communist Party of Greece has called upon its members and all its supporters for more resolute struggle, believing that this is the best way of marking the 70th anniversary of the party's heroic history.

Latin America & Caribbean

Panamanian President Proposes Crisis Solution

LD230916 Moscow TASS in English 0833 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Havana March 23—TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev reports:

U.S. transport aircraft on Tuesday launched an operation to ferry equipment and military hardware to the air base Howard in the Panama Canal zone, according to news agency reports. The operation is carried out under the Pentagon plan to move an additional 800 troops to the canal zone. More than 10,000 servicemen of the U.S. Southern Command are already stationed in Panama. The new reinforcements are sent under the far-fetched pretext of protecting the inter-oceanic waterway and also the U.S. military bases and citizens in that zone.

As was already reported Panamanian President Manuel Solis Palma made a radio and television address to the nation Monday. He put forward a number of proposals on ways to overcome the Panamanian-U.S. disagreements and the political crisis in the country. The president's initiative was received positively in the sociopolitical quarters of the Panamanian society.

Rigoberto Parades, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of Panama's parliament, voiced, among others, his support for the president. He denounced the obstructionist course of the Reagan administration and the righ-wing opposition in Panama. The Liberal Party, the second in importance in the ruling coalition, and the Revolutionary-Democratic Party which comes out for enhancing national sovereignty, gave support to Manuel Solis Palma's position.

Political observers hold that the escalation of U.S. military presence in the Panama Canal zone shows that Washington has actually turned down the Panamanian Government's peace initiative. Panama's right-wing opposition forces act in covert conspiracy with Washington. This applies, first and foremost, to the national civic crusade that initiated the present anti-government strike in Panama.

The opposition coalition plainly stated that Manuel Solis Palma's proposal on launching the nation-wide dialogue was unacceptable to it despite the fact that the dialogue was designed by the government to help normally conduct the elections in Panama, planned under the constitution for next May.

U.S. Planning 'Armed Intervention' in Panama

LD230913 Moscow TASS in English 0852 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] San Francisco March 23 TASS—The United States is getting prepared for an armed intervention in the internal affairs of Panama. The NBC television company learned from the sources in Panama and Washington the U.S. could render military assistance to the Panamanian anti-government elements.

NBC pointed out that the U.S. military staying in Panama who were ready for combat operations warned General Manuel Noriega that they would support the opposition if the events started to develop rapidly. According to its information, the transfer of U.S. security force units and munitions by transport planes continued Tuesday.

NBC emphasized that despite protests of the country's population, U.S. troops had started a military exercise on Panamanian territory.

Further Reportage on Uruguayan Leader's Visit

Greeted by Gromyko

PM231407 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] President Julio Maria Sanguinetti of Uruguay arrived in Moscow for an official visit 21 March at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet Government.

At Vnukovo Airport J. Sanguinetti and his wife were met at the aircraft steps by A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and his wife.

Taking part in the meeting were A.E. Voss, chairman of the the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities; V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.N. Volkov and N.I. Kotlyar, ministers of the USSR; N.V. Garetovskiy, chairman of the USSR Gosbank Board; V.I. Terebilov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court; A.I. Kachanov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign economic relations; V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy minister; V.T. Saykin, chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom; and other officials.

The state flags of Uruguay and the Soviet Union were hoisted at the airport and an honor guard formed from the three branches of the USSR Armed Forces—the Ground Forces, the Air Force, and the Navy—was mounted on the tarmac. A band played the two countries' national anthems.

A.A. Gromyko and J. Sanguinetti reviewed the formation of Soviet servicemen.

The ceremonial part of the meeting ended with a march past by the honor guard.

The two countries' state flags and greetings banners were raised along the streets and squares of the capital through which the convoy of cars passed accompanied by a motor cycle escort of honor.

Sanguinetti Interviewed

PM231051 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Uruguayan President Julio Maria Sanguinetti by IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Nesterov and APN own correspondent S. Samoylov in Montevideo: "'We Look to the Future with Optimism'"; date of interview not given]

[Text] [Correspondents] Mr President, since you came to the leadership of the republic's civilian government 3 years ago, relations between our countries have been noticeably stepped up, and your coming visit to the USSR confirms this. What is your view of the prospects for cooperation between the two states?

[Sanguinetti] Let me begin by saying that diplomatic relations between the USSR and Uruguay are long-standing: Their 60th anniversary occurred precisely when my government came to power. This is an important landmark in the development of bilateral ties, which are being built on the basis of mutual respect. We Uruguayans regard the prospect of cooperation in the future with great optimism. I would like to note that last year's visit by Soviet Foreign Minister E. A. Shevardnadze played a great role in strengthening ties between our countries. My visit to the USSR also confirms the importance with which Uruguay regards these ties. I do not doubt that our relations have great prospects and that there is potential for expanding them further in the trade, economic, cultural, and other spheres.

[Correspondents] What influence, in your opinion, is restructuring in the USSR having on the international situation?

[Sanguinetti] Restructuring in the USSR is a most important phenomenon at the end of the present century. Without a doubt, the process of transformations in your country is an event of international significance. Restructuring symbolizes one of the most vital problems of our epoch. The end of the last and the beginning of the present century were noted for resolving social problems; in this period the working people were searching for guarantees in defense of their rights. At the turn of the next century the basic problem is transforming state institutions in all political systems. Precisely for this reason restructuring in the Soviet Union is attracting the attention of the Western countries and Uruguay, in particular. I believe that its success will strengthen world peace to a significant degree. The implementation of the planned reforms and the USSR's further rapprochement with other states is a powerful factor in the struggle for peace. On the other hand, the development of the Soviet economy will undoubtedly entail expanding international trade. Taking all this into account, the political transformations in the USSR have enormous value.

[Correspondents] What, in your view, is Uruguay's contribution to the activity of the Contadora Support Group in the search for ways to resolve the conflict in Central America by peaceful means?

[Sanguinetti] Uruguay joined the support group at a difficult time for the organization, when it seemed that war in this region of the world was inevitable. The press at that time was writing about the failure of the Contadora Group's efforts in its attempts to reach a peaceful settlement. The creation of the support group gave a new impetus to this process. We succeeded in changing the negative tendency based on the assumption that the situation taking shape would inevitably lead to war. We tried to find new political means, to create a new situation which would assist the Central American states in finding a way to dialogue. Today we can claim that, although lasting peace has still not been established in this region, a dialogue which did not exist earlier now does exist. There are political changes within these countries. In addition, a plan has been worked out for a peaceful settlement to the conflict. Despite all the difficulties, it has already led to definite results.

Naturally, in the future we will cooperate with these efforts, in which Uruguay has been a most active participant. It is essential to take into account that this is a far from easy task. Slightly hopeful factors appear quite often, but no one has the right to sit back, because this would mean creating favorable circumstances for war. I believe that the present prospects for Central America are much better than before. Of course, it is wrong to look at the situation in this region through rose-tinted spectacles, but it should be recognized that paths which in the past were blocked are now open for use.

[Correspondents] What do you think about establishing a new international economic system in the world?

[Sanguinetti] The world situation is characterized by economic instability, although the present crisis differs to a significant degree from what befell the Western countries at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century. Nonetheless, economic instability is a factor which is making itself felt.

On the one hand, this is due to stock market instability like the recent situation in New York. On the other, it is due to the existence of numerous barriers, antediluvian prejudices, and exclusiveness in international trade. The industrially developed countries' protectionist policy exacerbates this situation even more. From Latin America's viewpoint, foreign debt significantly hampers the possibilities of new investments.

All of the above convinces us of the necessity to create a stable international situation, which should be achieved by following the path of glasnost, if I can use this word which is popular in your country. It is essential to establish more open relations between states on the basis

of economic realities. Uruguay, for example, is an agrarian country forced to face difficult competition in foreign markets, particularly because the governments of the Common Market countries allot enormous subsidies to keep the prices for their goods at a low level. And this, in our view, damages the operation of the international trade mechanism. It is natural for every state to assist its citizens in the way it considers essential. But this should not harm the remainder of the international community.

[Correspondents] Mr President, what is your attitude to the idea of setting up a bank based on the "disarmament for development" principle?

[Sanguinetti] I think that the idea of disarmament itself is connected with development. A fund can be created or another path can be followed, but one thing is certain—disarmament assists development. Imagine if the USSR and the United States were to reduce their military expenditure by 10 percent. Naturally, the resources freed would be utilized for developing the economy. This would lead to increased employment and a corresponding growth in production volume. In my view, nothing is less productive from the economic standpoint than military expenditure.

[Correspondents] How do you assess the integration process in Latin America, and what role does Uruguay play in it?

[Sanguinetti] Economic integration in Latin America is an evolutionary process. Many states on our continent have been advocating it for a long time. But the reality was not favorable enough for it. A series of negative internal and external factors—border conflicts, the presence of dictatorial regimes, contrasting political systems, geographical distances, insufficiently developed means of communication, differences in technical development, and many other things—significantly interfered with this. Nonetheless, the integration process is continuing. Uruguay, Brazil, and Argentina are particularly active in this direction. Some success has already been achieved. Reciprocal trade and cooperation in the technological sphere have increased. It is appropriate to say that the states of the region account for 30 percent of all Uruguayan trade. Our countries are creating joint facilities in infrastructure, in bridge construction, hydroelectric power stations, and so on. Cooperation has taken shape in the automotive industry. Tourism is developing among the countries. We can hope for the economic integration process to become an important factor in international life in around 20 years. As far as political integration is concerned, definite results have already occurred. There is no doubt that this process will make Latin America even stronger and more dynamic. The "group of eight" (states belonging to the Contadora Group and the support group—Editor) is playing a particular role in this respect. Now their voice carries some weight.

[Correspondents] And could you say how the democratization process is developing in your country and in Latin America as a whole since the fall of the military regimes in Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil. Is there a base for rapprochement among the states in strengthening democracy on the continent?

[Sanguinetti] The democratic process in Latin America has good prospects, but it is not a straight path. It goes through ups and downs, twists and turns. Latin America is notable for its peculiarities and features. Uruguay, for example, has rich democratic traditions. In this sphere it has achieved great success much earlier than many other countries. True, we also had problems between 1973 and 1984 (the period when a military regime was in power—Editor), but we came out of that situation by employing political means, which we believe to be the most suitable. And now, 3 years later, in confirmation of this we can say that the situation in the country has stabilized.

Other countries have gone their own way. Brazil, for example, has set up a new democratic system in accordance with the directives planned by the military government, which believed that the civilian president would continue its policy. But it turned out that common sense gained the upper hand in the country's political life and this led to democracy. In Argentina, which has experienced many military overthrows in its history and where the military has been the dominant force since 1930, democracy appeared after the defeat of the previous regime in the Malvinas conflict.

I cited these three examples to show that our states, which are neighbors and which have much in common, are distinguished by their own peculiarities and characteristics even though from a distance they may appear the same.

We believe in the democratic process, we are working for it, but we are aware that in those places where there has been little democracy it is impossible to resolve all the problems in one day. It is essential to create the appropriate climate for democracy, and the relevant parties and leaders. We should assist this movement as it leads toward the light, and not the opposite.

Gromyko Dinner Speech

PM231141 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report on 21 March Moscow Kremlin dinner under general heading "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] A dinner in honor of President J.M. Sanguinetti of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay and his wife was given by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Government in the Great Kremlin Palace on 21 March. The dinner passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere. It was attended by officials accompanying the president on his visit.

Present on the Soviet side were A.A. Gromyko and his wife; V.I. Vorotnikov and P.N. Demichev, deputy chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers; USSR ministers, chairmen of USSR State Committees, and other officials. A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered a speech.

A.A. Gromyko's Speech [subhead]

Esteemed Mr President!

Esteemed Mrs Sanguinetti!

Gentlemen! Comrades!

I am pleased to greet you, and through you, the friendly people of Uruguay on behalf of the Soviet leadership. We welcome all the Uruguayan guests who have come to Moscow.

The distance separating our homeland from Uruguay is enormous. However, there are many coincidences in the world which have brought and are bringing even very distant countries close to each other.

Let us recall, for instance, what happened during the last century. It could, of course, be considered a coincidence that Garibaldi, an Italian seaman, learned about the aims of a secret revolutionary society of his compatriots known as "Young Italy" in the Russian port of Taganrog in 1833. He passed on his freedom-loving thoughts to the people he met. Later he arrived with the same ideas in your country. Fifteen years later, his name as fighter for national independence was entered in gold letters in Uruguay's history. Subsequently he became Italy's most popular national hero and one of the main leaders of the national liberation movement in the 19th century.

Summing up the Uruguayan period of his life he said: "In America I worked for the benefit of the peoples."

And toward the end of his life, during a meeting with the Russian revolutionary Herzen, Giuseppe Garibaldi declared that in the future he saw "a new Russia which would overcome the tsarist Russia and clearly be of tremendous significance for the future of the world as a result of its development."

In this wonderful way Uruguay and our country are intertwined in the mind and the destiny of this man.

Or is it perhaps not worthy of note that Uruguay was the first country in South America to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union? This remarkable and vivid detail is imprinted on our memory for ever. You mentioned it during our talks today.

I would like to draw special attention to the fact that in the more than 60 years of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Uruguay, and indeed, on closer examination, during the whole history of relations between our two peoples, this is the first visit of a Uruguayan head of state to our country. Your visit is a major political event in Soviet-Uruguayan relations.

It is true that the distance between Moscow and Montevideo is considerable. However, it is by no means the geographical factor which predominates in the Soviet people's view of Uruguay. And this is quite right. We know that your country is faithful to the ideals of the leader of the national liberation struggle Jose Artigas. There is nothing more sacred than the will of the people, the great revolutionary said. These are wise words.

Since the coming to power in Uruguay in 1985 of a civilian government headed by you, Mr President, your country's activeness in the international arena has increased noticeably. The level of Soviet-Uruguayan relations has risen substantially. We recall your statement to the UN General Assembly that the senselessness of the arms race is the biggest threat which is hanging over peoples' collective aspirations and the personal happiness of every person.

The coincidence of our countries' views in respect of the main task of preserving life on earth is a kind of key which has swung open the door to the development of Soviet-Uruguayan cooperation. We totally agree with you that the cause of strengthening peace is of the highest priority.

Today's talks, which were marked by a frank and constructive spirit, have reaffirmed this incontrovertible fact. We are satisfied with the results of our joint work and we are ready to promote further progress in our relations in all spheres on the basis of the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The revitalization of the political dialogue between our countries and your correspondence with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on the fundamental questions of war and peace have given a dynamic impetus to the whole range of our bilateral ties and are reinforcing their equitable, mutually advantageous, and friendly character. This is our common asset, which we must and do treasure.

Your visit, Mr President, is taking place during an important period of a certain thaw in the international climate, of which the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles represents a historic landmark. The Soviet Union is tackling the question of the treaty's ratification with a sense of great responsibility. The withdrawal ahead of schedule of Soviet missiles from the GDR and Czechoslovakia testifies to our goodwill and

determination to implement our share of the obligations with honor. The Soviet people would like to believe that the United States too will approach the ratification of the treaty with the utmost responsibility.

The advancement of real disarmament is the pivot around which the main international events revolve today. We firmly intend to go our part of the way in the cause of eliminating the threat of war. Guided by this aim, the Soviet Union is holding talks on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms on condition that the ABM Treaty is observed in the form in which it was signed in 1972. We are also conducting talks on banning and destroying chemical weapons, ending nuclear tests, and reducing conventional arms, as well as talks in other spheres of disarmament. From Lenin's days, our ideal has been universal disarmament, and the 27th CPSU Congress set the creation of a comprehensive system of international security as a concrete aim.

We counter the various kinds of militarist doctrines based on strong-arm policies with our exclusively defensive military doctrine and the concept of mutual and equal security. It is our firm belief that the elimination of the nuclear threat and the strengthening of international security accord with the innermost aspirations of the people who inhabit the Northern Hemisphere under the Pole Star and the Southern Hemisphere under the Southern Cross.

Our country is doing everything in its power to broaden the horizons of mutual understanding and the atmosphere of trust among the states of all continents. At the same time, the smoldering flashpoints of tension in various parts of the world continue to cause us serious concern.

One such flashpoint is located in Central America. We resolutely condemn the forces which are implementing a policy of state terrorism in respect of Ni ıragua, are trying to torpedo the Contadora process, and have not given up their attempts to deprive the people of Nicaragua of their sovereign right to follow their chosen path. We support a political settlement in Central America and the constructive efforts of the Contadora group of states and the states that support it.

Nicaragua's goodwill, reflected in the implementation of the Guatemala agreements, and the policy of national reconciliation implemented by the governments of Afghanistan and Cambodia must find a proper response. Signs are multiplying indicating that a course toward a mutually acceptable settlement of regional problems is gaining ground in international relations. Naturally, this will not be an easy path, and there will be many obstacles to surmount. Nonetheless, it is this path which can lead to the solution of national problems and make a real contribution to ending so-called local wars.

In our concept of a nuclear-free, nonviolent world, the establishment of a new international economic order occupies a place which is on a par with the fundamental questions of security. Allowing the world economy to swing between the extremes of the changeable market situation to suit the transnational corporations is no less dangerous than political tension.

Like you, we favor a smooth, steady development of international economic relations, their stabilization on a democratic basis, and the establishment of a just correlation between world prices for raw materials and industrial goods. All this means that we favor order and predictability in international trade, the need for which you, Mr President, have noted more than once and most recently in the course of our talks today.

Putting up "high walls" which bar access to advanced technology and the achievements of science, the transformation of the economy into an instrument of political pressure, the establishment of discriminatory quotas—all this belongs to the arsenal of mutual relations between a strong and a weak party and hampers positive changes in the world economy. We resolutely condemn and reject such "high walls."

As you can see, it is no accident that we link questions of ensuring international peace with the problem of international economic security. A very useful lesson which many people have already learned is that the arms race also takes revenge on mankind in the sphere of the economy. Is it not indicative that the annual military expenditure in the world almost equals the total of the developing countries' foreign debt?

No one can deny the incontrovertible truth that the road to economic development leads through disarmament. We are profoundly convinced of this and note with satisfaction that we have a mutual understanding with Uruguay on this fundamental question.

May the ties between our peoples develop as befits friends—openly and honestly. And let no distance, however great, be an obstacle.

Your visit, Mr President, reaffirms the political will of Uruguay and the Soviet Union to deepen their cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. I am confident that it will accelerate the development of ties between our peoples.

I proclaim a toast to you, Mr President, and your wife, the friendly Uruguayan people, their success and prosperity, friendship between our peoples, and world peace!

J.M. Sanguinetti delivered a reply speech.

Sanguinetti Responds

PM231115 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS account of speech by Uruguyan President J.M. Sanguinetti delivered in response to Gromyko at 21 March Moscow Kremlin dinner given in his honor by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Government, under the general heading "In A Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] Mr Chairman!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

First of all let me thank you for your deeply meaningful words. We would like to take this opportunity to express our satisfaction with our stay in your country and our gratitude for the attention accorded us since we arrived in Leningrad a few days ago to initiate the first-ever visit to the Soviet Union by a Uruguayan president.

This visit must necessarily take its place in the context of the friendly and fruitful relations which our countries have maintained for more than 60 years, since those distant days when Uruguay was the first state in South America to establish relations with the still-young USSR.

These relations, whose stability is reflected by this visit, deserve particular attention since they are clear evidence of the possibilities opened up by peaceful coexistence in the sphere of international cooperation. Strict and respectful observance of this principle allows countries which, like ours, have different political and economic systems, cultures, traditions, and national characteristics, to develop mutually enriching ties which can assume tangible and effective reality.

Allow me to share with you my profoundly personal impressions of this reality. I first visited your country back in 1967 as a journalist. Later, in 1971, as minister for industry, I again visited the Soviet Union at the head of a delegation including private entrepreneurs with a view to stepping up our trade and economic relations. During this period of almost 20 years a great deal, Mr Chairman, has happened in our countries' lives. Nonetheless, the ties between our two peoples have been developing on an ascending line, and today I state my desire—which you undoubtedly share—to strive to deepen these ties still further. This is borne out by the first results of the talks which we have started.

Ultimately, the continuing and—from the viewpoint of time and content—successful development of our relations is based on sensible, practical initiatives which, since they are free of rhetoric and ostentation, guarantee success in concrete work.

Therefore, now that we are entering a new stage in international relations, we hope that our bilateral ties will become part of this stage through highly dynamic reciprocal economic cooperation, which should be expanded and acquire considerable scope so as to reinforce with tangible content the high level of political and diplomatic relations achieved between our two countries. A good harvest is obtained when, as was noted previously, people are guided by practical considerations during the sowing.

Allow me to describe in general terms the situation in which Uruguay is participating with the energy you remarked upon in resolving the problems of the Latin American region.

Latin America is currently going through a historic and possibly unique stage when—and this is the most important point—in accordance with the freely expressed will of the peoples, complementary concepts of democracy, peace, and development are being amalgamated.

This thought was expressed in a wonderfully laconic way by the outstanding Mexican figure Octavio Paz, who said: "We can only maintain peace if we defend democracy." This is why, with a view to cooperating with our Central American brothers in the quest for a solution to the crisis convulsing their region and affecting all of us Latin Americans, the Contadora Group and Support Group—of which Uruguay is a member—came into existence and started work. This is why we support strict observance of the "Esquipulas II" Agreement with no provisos. And this is why the "Group of Eight," of which Uruguay is a member, coordinates in simple and flexible organizational forms the positions of the democratic Latin American countries in international affairs, without restricting itself to efforts to settle the vexed situation in Central America.

For the above reasons and by dint of its unswerving desire for regional cooperation, Uruguay participates in the integration process with its neighbors—Argentina and Brazil—with the intention of ensuring our countries' progress through joint efforts on the basis of their common historical and cultural background. This general development is based on the political will and creative approaches shown by the three countries in their search for ways of implementing their plans, and attests both to the maturity of their intentions and to the potential for implementing them.

However, if we want everything to be completely clear—and that requires realism—our expectations may at best fail to be realized if the proposals currently under elaboration do not meet with a proper positive response within decisive power centers. After all, the interrelated nature of our world is not just a metaphor but a manifestation of a reality which we cannot ignore.

That is why, while not moving one iota from the principle of noninterference—which we value—we are following with growing interest the restructuring process taking place in your country.

On the basis of a clear understanding of the role of states in the modern world—and this applies both to socialist and liberal societies—restructuring is an extremely interesting phenomenon. It requires the closest attention, since no unique phenomenon can be restricted to the framework of just one country when it applies to a great power.

Ultimately, when we are talking about the universally recognized principles of competition, when the main ideas of the production and distribution of consumer goods are being reviewed, and when the laws regulating the market are objectively recognized, this means that a definite choice is being made consonant with the demands put forward by us—the developing countries.

If one recalls the words of General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, who has repeatedly said that it is time to abandon stone-age mind-sets, when the main concern of everyone was to grab the biggest stick or the heaviest rock, one inevitably concludes that in the economic sphere democracy and development are closely intertwined for countries with their own—sometimes painful—experience in this area. Extremely destructive weapons are the biggest sticks and heaviest rocks. The predominance of "caveman" thinking, with its barriers, isolation, and exclusivity, entails breakdowns which can have incalculable consequences.

This is why we agree with what you said and advocate the unrestricted, constant, and substantive development of international trade, from which artificial barriers and protectionism—both of which threaten to paralyze trade—must be excluded. And if the restructuring under way in your country becomes particularly interesting from the standpoint of trade exchange, it will be no less interesting if we measure its impact on the international situation as a whole, and particularly on disarmament and the safeguarding of peace.

I again refer to the statement by General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, who noted that the choice between the things suggested by common sense and the things that lead to catastrophe can only be made by all states together, irrespective of their social systems and the level of their economic development. He is also absolutely right when he says that for every people peace starts on their own doorstep. A country and people like the Uruguayans, who support peace instinctively and through their historical convictions, are prepared to share these ideas.

That is why, in the course of an exchange of messages with General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, I clearly expressed my government's agreement with these concepts—agreement which was not the result of an opportunist or hasty decision but was dictated by national interests which must be treated with understanding and respect.

I want you to know that my country will always support any specific, honest measures undertaken in a spirit of good will in the disarmament sphere—specifically those concerning nuclear arms limitation. As has rightly been noted, these questions must not be viewed independently of their economic aspect, since enormous military expenditure cannot be tolerated at a time when so many countries and peoples are living in poverty and experiencing unbearable suffering.

I am sure that the extensive and frank [otkrovennyy] exchange of opinions and information which has taken place during my visit is part of its overall positive results.

Friendship is always based on truth and is enriched and augmented by it.

This visit has provided yet another opportunity to reaffirm this idea.

In conclusion, J.M. Sanguinetti advocated friendship between our countries and peace for all built as a result of joint efforts.

Discussion With Gorbachev

PM231234 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

["M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With J.M. Sanguinetti"—TASS report]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Mar (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with Uruguayan President Julio Maria Sanguinetti in the Kremlin today. It was a conversation rich in thought and free from convention between two state figures who are thinking in a broad and responsible way about problems that currently interest the whole world. They felt no constraint in noting the proximity and even the similarity of their views, because they represented their countries at an equal level while fully understanding the peculiarities of their history, geographical position, links with other states, and their responsibility with regard to their own peoples and the international community. The very formulation of the questions and their approach to them in the discussion may serve as an illustration of the objective interconnectedness of the present-day world which is resulting in the similiarity of processes under way in very different societies, for in them is reflected the nature of the changes in the world and the global factors in the development of civilization at the turn of the century.

From positions of the international significance of restructuring in the USSR and of democratic transformations in Latin America, in Uruguay, the interlocutors exchanged information on internal problems in their own countries. At the request of the president, Mikhail Gorbachev talked about how the concept and policy of restructuring was formed, for the reasons a retreat [otstupleniye] from the principles of socialism took place, how

phenomena putting a brake on its development arose, how the cult of personality and the period of stagnation left their residue in the economic mechanism, in social relations, in the spiritual sphere, in people's psychology, as a result of which society began to lose dynamism.

The logic of restructuring has required pointed criticism and self-criticism in order to rouse people, to bring them out of their apathy and their social passivity and to include them in the search for ways to qualitatively renew the entire life of the country. Glasnost enables us to assimilate our history truthfully and to see the current state of society as it really is, to learn lessons, to guard against repeating mistakes and to formulate a realistic policy on the basis of democratization from top to bottom. Without imparting a universal nature to democratization, without the development of glasnost in every possible way, it is impossible to keep our society constantly active, on the move, and it is impossible to ensure that what has been started will be irreversible. This has proved to be quite difficult and has evoked an explosion of ideological squabbles, which have still not subsided, for people want to understand fully why things that originated under extraordinary, extreme circumstances were also retained under normal conditions; why over a lengthy period the state of the working people did not properly use the educational and democratic potential of the masses which it had created itself.

The comprehension of all this made it possible to draw up a whole system of measures and principled decisions which formed the basis for an all-embracing restructuring. Not everything has been worked out yet. For example, at the 19th party conference, we have yet to engage in profound reconstruction [rekonstruktsiya] of the political superstructure.

The novelty and scale of work already begun or yet to come resulting from the ideas of restructuring have had such an impact on society that the problem of shaping adequate social consciousness has become very acute. A most important element in this consciousness should be the understanding that neither extremism—which desires to resolve everything with a single stroke—nor attempts to delay the processes or even bring them to a halt, under the pressure of difficulties and resistance, is acceptable.

The party's task and one of its greatest responsibilities, given the party's political experience and theoretical cabilities, lies in finding the optimum pace which would ensure the stability of the restructuring processes.

We have given birth to a "revolution of expectations" and we must ensure a revolutionary turning point in the position of Soviet citizens. Without this, hopes will remain a dream. It is too late for anyone to manage to turn back now. But this does not mean that it will be easy. Big difficulties lie ahead. Politics has now been opened up to millions of people. In other words, genuine, large-scale politics has begun. The current leadership is devoted to its chosen line, and will spare no efforts to see that all goes as intended, Mikhail Gorbachev said.

Julio Maria Sanguinetti voiced a number of interesting thoughts on problems which the Soviet Union has come up against, referring to international and Uruguayan experience. He explained why there is excitement in Uruguay and in other countries at what is happening in the Soviet Union: A more dynamic Soviet society means a more favorable climate in Soviet-U.S. and international relations. Hence the prospect of disarmament, the transfer of capital investments from the military sphere into the civilian sphere, and in the final analysis, an improvement in the whole situation in world trade and in the world economy.

Referring to his impressions of his visit to Washington, Mikhail Gorbachev said that in his opinion, there is understanding in public and political circles in the United States of the need to improve relations with the USSR. For its part, the Soviet Union will continue to act constructively, taking account of the real role of the United States in the world, its links with other countries, and the significance of cooperation between the USSR and United States in issues affecting the world community.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev once again set forth the position of the USSR with regard to a Central American settlement: We will never understand in what way Nicaragua can threaten the United States and the Western hemisphere in general. We will never agree with the absurd idea that the cause of the conflict and the obstacles to its settlement are the hand of Moscow. The USSR has no military-political plans with regard to this region, and this subject has never even arisen in our relations with the Nicaraguan leadership. Why would we do this? In order to provoke the United States or someone in Latin America? We are not adventurers. After all, it is not possible to understand and to agree with the policy of imposing upon a sovereign state an inappropriate system of government.

Mikhail Gorbachev reaffirmed firm support for the Contadora process and for the Guatemala agreement, and expressed the conviction that the people of Latin America themselves will sort things out and will find a solution. He informed Julio Maria Sanguinetti about his proposals to President Reagan during the meeting in Washington. He confirmed that the USSR has never supplied any weapons to the Salvadoran or Guatemalan insurgents.

Issues of the Soviet-U.S. disarmament talks were touched upon in the conversation from a position of international interest. We approach them, said Mikhail Gorbachev, both from the positions of ensuring general security, and of normalizing the economic situation in the world, in the spirit of the concept "disarmament for development."

He expressed the hope that the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles will be ratified in the USSR and the United States. The talks currently being held in Washington by Eduard Shevardnadze will show whether there is a real opportunity to prepare a treaty on strategic offensive weapons in time for the arrival of President Reagan in Moscow, and whether it will prove possible to reach agreement on matters of an Afghan and Middle East settlement and other topical matters. We, in any event, are in favor of this. We consider that it is possible to conclude an international convention on the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons this very year. We attach particular significance to the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces in Europe. We see opportunities taking shape here, too, despite the negative aspects that revealed themselves at the last NATO session. In Brussels they devoted more thought to how to halt the enterprising policy of the USSR. Had they wished to do this by means of interesting proposals of their own, we would only have welcomed that. But at present what we see is something different—attempts to retard the quest for ways toward real disarmament.

The world has changed and is changing in such a way that the need for an improvement in the international climate is becoming ever more pressing. The peoples do not want to accept tension, the arms race, and economic adversities. It is the task of politicians to detect these sentiments and reflect them in appropriate actions. Positive elements are building up in world interrelations. Collectively and individually various movements and countries can do a lot to build up these positive elements. We are pinning especially great hopes on the independent contribution of the nonaligned movement. One should not reduce world politics to Soviet-U.S. relations, however important they are.

In conclusion, Mikhail Gorbachev expressed the general satisfaction of the Soviet leadership at the results of the visit of Uruguay's president ot the USSR. The dialogue reached a high level, which will enable us to better build our relations, taking into account mutual interests and preoccupations, and acting in parallel, to strengthen healthy tendencies in international politics. The president of Uruguay evaluated the meeting that has taken place as an example of how a political conversation on any question can and must be conducted in the conditions of close ties between diverse countries and peoples in the present-day world.

Attends Bolshoy With Gromyko

LD222344 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today President Sanguinetti of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay and his wife were present at a ballet soiree at the USSR Bolshoy Theater. Together with the guests in the central loge were Comrade Gromyko and his wife, and other officials. The state flags of Uruguay and the Soviet Union were raised in the audience hall. Before the performance started, the orchestra played the state anthems of the two countries.

Voss Meets Parliamentarians

PM231559 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Contacts Are Strengthening"]

[Text] On 22 March A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities, met with Senators H. Batalla and A. Traversoni and Broad Front of Uruguay Chairman L. Seregni , who are accompanying President J.M. Sanguinetti of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay on his visit to our country.

During a friendly conversation questions of strengthening contacts between the parliamentarians of the two countries were discussed.

Seen Off by Gromyko

LD231649 Moscow TASS in English 1624 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—President of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay Julio Maria Sanguinetti left the USSR today. He was staying in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government.

The Uruguayan president and his wife were seen off from the airport by member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Andrey Gromyko and his wife, and other officials.

Political & Social

New Unrest Reported in Armenia; Papers Scored

3-Day Strike Planned

LD221412 Hamburg DPA in German 1243 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—According to civil rights campaigners, more than 10,000 people demonstrated on Monday in Yerevan, the capital of the Soviet Republic of Armenia, against the information policy of the Moscow party center. This was stated by Paruir Airikyan, head of the Armenian independence movement, at a news conference in Moscow on Tuesday. The demonstration was directed at an article in the party paper "PRAVDA" of the same day which accused the Armenians of "demagoguery," "national egoism", and antisocialist ideas. According to Airikyan, one of the three editors of the "PRAVDA" article has meanwhile distanced himself from the report.

According to Airikyan, the "PRAVDA" correspondent from Armenia accused his editor in chief in a telegram of having placed his article in a totally misleading context. It is a "fateful mistake" and shows "political shortsightedness" to represent the participants in peaceful demonstrations in Armenia as extremists.

The second editor of the article, in contrast to the published report, spoke positively about the Armenians several times, stated the telegram, which, according to Airikyan, was read aloud at the demonstration in Armenia. The article is a disservice to the Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev, in whom the people have placed great hopes. The "PRAVDA" editorial offices refused to comment on Tuesday on the accusations.

At the demonstration, placards with inscriptions "'PRAVDA' (Russian: truth) Should Write the Truth" and "A Disgrace for the Press" were shown, Airikyan said. "PRAVDA" accused the Armenians of acting on orders from abroad. Airikyan said that at a public gathering in Yerevan next saturday a spontaneous vote will be taken on a 3-day national strike.

The Armenians continue to call emphatically for the annexation of the Nagorno-Karabakh region, bordering on Azerbaijan, to their republic. An organization committee in Yerevan, which, according to Airikyan, has suborganizations all over the country, actively entered the discussion during the unrests in the past weeks and has appeared as the spokesman of the movement. The official news agency TASS accused the leaders of the committee on Monday of exploiting the people's feelings for provocative objectives and of wanting to reverse the development of society.

According to the latest official information, the unrest in the Azerbaijani town of Sumgait at the end of February cost 32 lives and 197 injured. Furthermore, 12 rapes were registered. More than 100 homes were looted and 20 cars damaged, TASS reported on Monday evening. According to Airikyan, his organization is trying to compile a precise list of the victims and of Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan. So far 78 deaths have been registered.

PRAVDA Reporter Denies Involvement

AU221504 Paris AFP in English 1439 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, March 22 (AFP)—Thousands of demonstrators took to the streets of Yerevan, Armenia's capital, Monday to protest the Soviet authorities' rejection of their demands for the re-drawing of a regional border in favor of Armenia, a nationalist activist said here Tuesday. Paruir Airikyan added at a press conference that the demonstration had begun in the afternoon and ended around 11 p.m.

Demonstrators shouted slogans such as "shame on the press" and "PRAVDA must tell the truth", but no incidents were reported, he added.

On Monday, the Communist Party daily PRAVDA rejected Armenians' demands for the re-drawing of a regional border in favour of Armenia, in a move which caused consternation in Armenian nationalist ranks. The PRAVDA article accused the Armenian nationalist leaders of being manipulated from abroad and said their campaign for the return of the Armenian-dominated Azerbaijani region of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia was "anti-socialist". The article was published one month after the unrest in Nagorno-Karabakh which sparked mass demonstrations in neighbouring Armenia and massacres in the Azerbaijani city of Sumgait.

Mr. Airikyan added that another demonstration had been held Sunday at Yerevan to protest about the media's "lack of objectivity." He read out a letter which he said had been written by one of the signatories of Monday's PRAVDA article, Yuriy Arakelyan, denying having been involved in writing the story.

Officials at PRAVDA said Tuesday that Mr. Arakelyan, the paper's Yerevan correspondent, could not be reached because he was in hospital.

Soviet Government spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov did not rule out the possibility that Mr. Arakelyan's story had been altered. He said that it had been written by an editorial team basing itself on reports from three journalists.

Mr. Airikjan also said that inhabitants of the Lachin region, located between Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia and which has a population of 120,000, had asked Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev for the incorporation of their region into Armenia. [passage omitted]

Neighboring Republics on Events

LD221919 Moscow TASS in English 1842 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—As it has already been reported, a meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation was held today. The meeting discussed the situation that had formed in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, in the Azerbaijan and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics. The resolution unanimously adopted says that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation expresses anxiety and concern over the situation that has shaped in the Nagarno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, in the Azerbaijan and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics and holds that it runs counter to the further strengthening of friendship, unity and cohesion of all fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union, to the democratisation of public and state life, ensurance of constitutional rights and interests of Soviet citizens of various nationalities.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Russia requests the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to take decisive measures aimed at the observance of the requirements of the Soviet Constitution on the territories of the afore-mentioned republics, at the further consolidation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and all its state and autonomous entities, at all-round rallying of the Soviet peoples.

A meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic was held today. It also discussed the situation that shaped (?up) the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region and in the Azerbaijan and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics.

The resolution unanimously adopted says, specifically, that the working people of every nationality in Georgia are extremely concerned over the events that have been taking place of late in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region and around it. The situation that developed in Azerbaijan and Armenia cannot leave indifferent any person in Georgia where people of more than 80 nations and nationalities, among them hundreds of thousands of Armenians and Azerbaijanians live and work shoulder-to-shoulder.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republics asks the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to ensure unswerving observance of the USSR Constitution in the aforementioned republics, to do the utmost for the further consolidation of the USSR, of all its state and autonomous entities on a durable basis of friendship and brotherhood of the Soviet peoples, on the unshakable foundation of socialist internationalism.

Resolutions of similar contents have also been adopted at meetings of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic.

Ukraine Urges Normalization

LD221937 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] We have just received the following report: A session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took place on 22 March. The session examined the the concern the Ukrainian working people feel in connection with the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium noted that the working people of the Soviet Ukraine have fraternal and friendly feelings and respect toward the peoples of Soviet Armenia and Soviet Azerbaijan, equals among equals in the multinational country of the Soviets. That is precisely why the events that have recently taken place in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, the Armenian SSR, and the Azerbaijani SSR, have profoundly disturbed the Ukrainian working people, as well as all Soviet people. They are extremely concerned about the nature of these events, which are unprecedented as far as our country and the entire history of relations among nationalities in the USSR are concerned.

Our peoples are justly proud to belong to one entity: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We are convinced that all complex questions of relations among nationalities can and should be tackled only within the framework of the democratic process and socialist legality, taking into account the realities that have taken shape, and in the interests of society as a whole, the internationalist cohesion of all Soviet peoples.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium shares in its decision the alarm and concern of the Republic's working people in connection with the anomalous situation that has arisen in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, in the Armenian SSR, and the Azerbaijani SSR.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium addresses to the Azerbaijani SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium an urgent request to do everything possible to normalize the situation in the republics as quickly as possible, to restore proper social order, and to safeguard calm among the people. The situation requires prudence, restraint, and at the same time, a resolute rebuff to any actions contrary to the law. As Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stated in his address, one cannot let the most serious matters of people's destiny be governed by gut feelings and emotions.

The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium asked the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to adopt the necessary measures to ensure the rigorous observance of the USSR

Constitution and Soviet law in the name of the friendship and brotherhood between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, and all working people of our multinational socialist motherland.

Georgian Supreme Soviet Decision

LD222037 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] A session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium examined the situation that has come about in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and in the Azerbaijani and Armenian SSRS. The decision, adopted unanimously, states: The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium notes that the working people of the Georgian SSR, who live as one fraternal family, just as all the peoples of our great motherland, unanimously approve and ardently support the CPSU's Leninist policy, directed at restructuring, a revolutionary renewal of all spheres of life of our Soviet society.

Faithful to the glorious traditions of the internationalist solidarity and friendship among the fraternal republics of the country of the Soviets, the working people of Soviet Georgia are resolved to make their own worthy contribution to the implementation of the historic decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

Unanimity and cohesion, a complete mutual understanding among our whole family of Soviet peoples, and exemplary order in our socialist home acquire decisive significance in the context of the huge, creative work on the revolutionary reconstruction of Soviet society currently under way in our country.

The working people of all nationalities in our republic are extremely concerned by the recent events taking place in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. The situation that has now taken shape in Azerbaijan and Armenia cannot leave a single person indifferent in Georgia, where representatives of more than 80 nations and nationalities, among whom are hundreds of thousands of Armenians and Azerbaijanis, live and work shoulder to shoulder. Together with the Georgian people, they are doing everything in order to multiply the social, economic, and cultural potential of our republic and the whole country.

Here at home, we have always guarded—and will continue to guard as most sacred—the friendship and brotherhood among the Soviet peoples, the foundation of the strength and vigor of our Soviet socialist state; we will carefully preserve a sacred feeling—internationalism—as well as our genuine brotherhood, made fast by many centuries of history, by decades of joint struggle and toil in the name of the triumph of communist ideals.

On behalf of the republic's working people, the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium expressed a serious and sincere alarm in connection with the events in the neighboring fraternal republics—Azerbaijan and Armenia—with which Georgia is linked by historical close ties of friendship and brotherhood.

The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has addressed an appeal to the Azerbaijani SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to manifest a high degree of responsibility, political wisdom, vigilance, and deep reason, and to adopt exhaustive measures to normalize the situation, strengthen social order and discipline, observe the laws as rigorously as possible and to create conditions facilitating forward movement along the path of revolutionary transformations.

The complex problems of relations among nationalities, which have now piled up, can be tackled, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee noted, only within the framework of the democratic process and observance of the law, without allowing even the smallest damage to be done to the internationalist cohesion of Soviet peoples, without letting most serious matters of people's destiny be governed by any gut feelings or emotions.

The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium asks the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to safeguard the rigorous observance of the USSR Constitution in these republics, to do everything to further strengthen the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with all its state and autonomous formations, on the firm basis of friendship and brotherhood among the Soviet peoples and on the unshakeable foundation of socialist internationalism.

The working people of Soviet Georgia now express firm confidence that the communists, working people, young people, and the entire population of Azerbaijan and Armenia, under the leadersjip of party bodies and all party committees, will overcome the serious difficulties that have arisen and will guard the gains of socialism as most sacred.

Decisions with similar content have also been adopted at the sessions of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Uzbek Supreme Soviet Statement

LD221334 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0215 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] A meeting of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium, chaired by Deputy Chairman Comrade Romanovskiy, was held on 22 March in Tashkent.

Since workers of the republic have appealed to the party and soviet bodies and mass media, the Presidium examined the question concerning events in Azerbaijan and

Armenia related to Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Comrade Khabibullayev, chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet, read a report on this question.

Comrades Yeshimbetova, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet, Bekkulbekova, secretary of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet, and Presidium members Abdurakhmanov, Akbarov, Aliyev, Asrorova, Atakuziyev, [name indistinct], Bakirova, Zhravlev, Zakhidova, Ivanova, Mariyev, Stepanovskiy and (Troshlev), participated in the discussion.

The Presidium adopted a written appeal to the presidiums of the Azerbaijan SSR, the Armenian SSR, and the USSR. The text of the written appeal will be published in the press.

Comrade Anishchev, second secretary of the Uzbek Communist party Central Committee, delivered a speech at the meeting of the Presidium.

Armenian Bureau on Normalization

NC230726 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 23 Mar 88

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau considered on 20 March measures for normalizing the situation in the republic [word indistinct]. It was noted that despite work by gorkoms, raykoms, and primary party organizations, the situation remains tense and [word indistinct].

We see from the communique issued on the session of the Bureau that the situation arises largely as a consequence of the tragic events in Sumgait. At present there are some 700 [words indistinct] families of 2,318 members who have taken refuge in Armenia, having come from Sumgait and other populated areas in Azerbaijan. As a result of (?false rumors) and fabricated reports, the (?exodus) from our republic of (?citizens) of Azerbaijani ethnic origin continues.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has instructed gorkoms, raykoms, and primary party organizations to take the measures necessary to [words indistinct] on 26 March 1988.

Armenian CP Meeting Reported

NC230746 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 23 Mar 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] Most of the material published in today's issue is connected with events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. On 20 March the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau examined urgent measures for normalizing the situation in the republic. It was noted that it remains tense and explosive. The Karabakh Committee resorts to threats, allows [words indistinct] toward party and soviet organs, and exceeds the framework of legality.

The meeting set for 26 March in Yerevan could lead to the exacerbation of the situation and unpredictable consequences. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau calls for intensifying efforts by primary party organizations to neutralize the activities of the committees on Nagorno-Karabakh, considering that at the present time they carry political [words indistinct] and run counter to [words indistinct].

Armenian Militant Deported, Released

AU231054 Paris AFP in English 1040 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 23 (AFP)—An Armenian nationalist militant arrested here Tuesday has been forcibly returned home to Armenia, the editor of the dissident BULLETIN OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE Wednesday.

Meanwhile the parliaments of four Soviet republics have asked the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation—the largest Soviet republic—to take action to ensure the Soviet Constitution is obeyed in Azerbaijan and Armenia, the Communist Party daily PRAVDA reported.

On Tuesday, after thousands of Armenians reportedly held nationalist demonstrations in Armenia, the Russian Federation's presidium called for "resolute measures" to ensure respect for the country's constitution in the two neighboring southern republics.

Police put Paruir Airikyan, one of the main spokesmen on recent nationalist unrest in Azerbaijan, on a plane overnight headed for the Armenian capital, Yerevan, said editor Aleksandr Ogorodnikov, quoting a dissident source in Armenia. He was released early Wednesday in Yerevan, where he lives, Mr. Ogorodnikov added.

Mr. Airikyan had been arrested shortly after briefing foreign journalists on the situation in his native republic. In a telephone call to them later he said militiamen stopped him and asked for his internal travel document needed to visit Moscow. Authorities had taken the document from him in Yerevan 12 days earlier in a bid to keep him from attending a dissident seminar here.

Mr. Airikyan's arrest and release follows demonstrations in Yerevan Monday and Tuesday by thousands of Armenians protesting the Kremlin's rejection of their demand that the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh be returned to Armenia.

PRAVDA said the presidiums of the Supreme Soviet of Georgia (in the Caucasus), the Ukraine, Belorussia, in the western Soviet Union, and Uzbekistan (central Asia)

passed resolutions Tuesday calling for measures by the largest federation's parliament to ensure "rigorous respect" of the federal constitution.

The move, observers here said, signals their rejection of Armenian nationalists' demand for the return of Nagorno-Karabakh, which was incorporated in Azerbaijan under Stalin.

More Republics Pass Resolutions

LD231510 Moscow TASS in English 1414 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—As has already been reported, the presidiums of the Supreme Soviets (parliaments) of the Kazakh SSR, Lithuanian SSR, Turkmenian SSR and Estonian SSR have passed resolutions on the issue of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, in the Azerbaijanian and Armenian SSR.

The resolutions express concern about the situation, which emerged there, and is in contradiction with a further strengthening of friendship, unity and cohesion of all the fraternal peoples of the soviet Union, the drive for more democracy in public and state life.

The events taking place in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, the Azerbaijanian SSR and the Armenian SSR, says, in particular, the resolution of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz SSR, "does [as received] serious damage to the fraternal friendship between the Soviet peoples, distract us from the great day-to-day cares and hopes in connection with perestroyka, worsen the moral situation in our common soviet home, hamper the development of the processes of democratisation and sow national discord."

"As was both in the years of peaceful socialist construction," notes the resolution of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR, "and in the years of grim trials for our homeland, the Azerbaijanian and Armenian peoples displayed lofty patriotism, fidelity to the Leninist principles of socialist internationalism. Today's events in Nagorno-Karabakh are a dramatic episode in the history of Azerbaijan and Armenia, which cannot shake our traditional respect for those peoples. Kazakhstan felt from its own experience how dangerous are actions of extremist and nationalist-minded persons. We trust that the communists, all the working people of our republic will master up enough strength and courage to overcome the difficulties of the conflict which emerged, to preserve and strengthen their friendship in the interests of all the Soviet people."

"The working people of Soviet Lithuania," says the resolution by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of that Baltic Republic, "know well from their own experience the value of fruitful friendship and mutual assistance of all peoples of the country. Fidelity to thse noble ideals has ensured all that we now take legitimate pride in."

The resolutions call for wisdom and self-restraint and at the same time for a resolute rebuff to any unlawful actions. As is pointed out in the address by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the most serious questions of people's destiny shall not be left at the mercy of chaos and emotions.

Resolutions of a similar content have also been passed at the meetings of the parliaments of the Russian Federation, the Belorussian SSR, the Georgian SSR, the Ukrainian SSR and the Uzbek SSR.

USSR Supreme Soviet Decision

LD231544 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] A meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took place in the Kremlin today, chaired by Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Consideration was given to measures connected with the appeals from the union republics over the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and the Azerbaijani and Armenian SSRS. Comrade Gromyko spoke on this issue.

Taking part in the discussion were comrades Gorbachev, Shcherbitskiy, Demichev, and Solovyev; deputy chairmen of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; and chairmen of the presidiums of the supreme soviets of: the RSFSR, Orlov; the Belorussian SSR, Tarazevich; the Georgian SSR, Gilashvili; the Azerbaijani SSR, Tatliyev; the Moldavian SSR, Mokanu; the Latvian SSR, Vagris; the Kirgiz SSR, Akmatov; the Tajik SSR, Pallayev; the Armenian SSR, Voskonyan; the Turkmen SSR Yazkuliyev; the Estonian SSR, Ryuytel; and Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; as well as chairmen of the presidiums of the supreme soviets of: the Kazakh SSR, Kamalidenov; the Lithuanian SSR, Astrauskas.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decision which is being published in the press.

Correction to RSFSR Statement

Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1640 GMT on 22 March transmits a service message correcting the item titled "RSFSR on Nagorno-Karabakh" under the headline "Statements, Commentary on Nationalities Issue" published in the 22 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 58, column one, as follows:

Paragraph five, last sentence: ...tasks of restructuring. As Mikhail Gorbachev stresses, we must cherish and strengthen in every way the traditions of friendship between the Azerbaijanian and Armenian peoples, traditions which have formed over the years of Soviet power.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet... (adding sentence)

Comparison of RSFSR Presidium

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 23 March carries in its Morning Edition on page 2 a TASS report on the 22 March RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session held on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue. The IZVESTIYA report, under the headline "RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session" and lacking the dateline, has been compared with the Moscow TASS International version published in the 22 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 58, column one, revealing the following variations:

Paragraph one, first sentence, IZVESTIYA reads ...Presidium was held 22 March. It examined the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and in the Azerbaijani... (substituting "22 March" for "in Moscow today," inserting "and")

Paragraph two, first sentence, IZVESTIYA reads ...on this issue.

The session was addressed by: Kh. Kh. Bokov, chairman of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.I. Isakov, general director of the Volga Passenger Car Production Association; Sh.A. Mustayev, chairman of the Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; L.N. Mironova, milking machine operator at the "Petrovskoye" State Breeding Farm in Moscow Oblast's Lyuberetskiy Rayon; A.I. Tubylov, chairman of the Udmurt ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.N. Golubeva, general director of the Ivanovo cotton textile production association; I.D. Pisarev, first deputy chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom; Ye.D. Lokhitaylo, first secretary of the Omsk CPSU Obkom; F.V. Sultanov, chairman of the Bashkir ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; AUCCTU Secretary M.B. Ryzhikov; and V.P. Orlov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The unanimously adopted... (deleting last sentence of second paragraph, inserting additional passage, picking up third paragraph)

Paragraph four, only sentence, IZVESTIYA reads ...Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and in the Azerbaijani... (inserting "and")

Paragraph five, only sentence, IZVESTIYA reads ...friendship of peoples for a successful... (deleting "and")

Kazakh Politburo Discusses Nationalism Problem

LD221037 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Excerpts] At the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee Politburo: [passage omitted]

Reports were heard from the leaders of the Unions of Writers, Composers, and Theatrical Figures of Kazakhstan in fulfilling the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the work of the Kazakh republican party organization on the internationalist and patriotic education of the working people. It was stressed that at the present time, as a result of measures taken for guaranteeing glasnost and democracy, the situation in the creative unions is becoming normal; the exchange of spiritual values between the fraternal republics is being invigorated; and distortions that had occurred in national representation in the formation of elected bodies and in the acceptance of new members of the unions are being removed.

At the same time there are still many unresolved tasks in the work of the creative unions. Matters relating to the organization of translating literary works into Russian requires implementation. There are many problems in planning and setting print-runs for books in Kazakh, and in the development of book publishing in Uyghur, Korean, and German. Clannishness and narrowness on the basis of nationality are being manifested in the formation of repertoires and in the audiences in the republican theaters.

The programs of concert organizations failed to adequately represent the works of the union republics authors. New multinational musical collectives are needed. The Central Committee Politburo took note of the reports of the creative union leaders and required of their secretariats that they continue work on further improving the moral and psychological climate in the sphere of literature and art and on establishing a spirit of genuine internationalism in their collectives, and that they combat any manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism in the milieu of the artistic intelligentsia. [passage omitted]

Nationalist 'Excesses' 'No Accident'

PM231001 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Georgiy Melikyants interview with Doctor of Historical Sciences Leokadiya Mikhaylovna Drobizheva, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Ethnography Institute, and Yuriy Aleksandrovich Polyakov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on Historical Geography and Historical Demography: "There Were No Ready-Made Models in the Development of National Relations—historians L. Drobizheva and Yu. Polyakov Ponder This"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] We rightly call the friendship between the peoples of the USSR and the fusion of 100 large and small nations one of our society's main assets. But we also know that national processes are complex and not without problems.

How is the experience of national relations in the Soviet Union evaluated? What does it teach us? What new problems does it present? This was discussed in a conversation with Doctor of Historical Sciences Leokadiya Mikhaylovna Drobizheva, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Ethnography Institute, and Yuriy Aleksanddrovich Polyakov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on Historical Geography and Historical Demography.

[Melikyants] Evidently, the task now consists in investigating precisely and scientifically the complex elements in the national question and ascertaining where the roots of the complexity lie. The friendship between our peoples has never disappeared, it does indeed exist, and it is born in everyday relations, labor, and struggle. But then there are the distressing events of recent times—of the kind we seem to have forgotten about....

[Polyakov] Where there is development there will also be contradictions. It is important that even the most tangled problems can be solved. We have inherited many interethnic "tangles." After the revolution, we unraveled some of them. The creation of national republics and oblasts was—and I have no fear of exaggeration—a matter of tremendous importance. Most of the current republics and oblasts were formed over 6-7 years—and what years they were, years of war and starvation! We had no ready-made models. Most of the peoples who set up their republics had never had statehood before. What principle was to be chosen here? The Gori ASSR, for instance, initially absorbed a number of the peoples of the North Caucasus. It soon became clear that uniting many nationalities in one republic was inadvisable. Several autonomous areas arose in the place of one republic.

[Melikyants] However, Dagestan remained, where there are more than 10 nations and nationalities...

[Polyakov] This is another experience which is also of interest. In Dagestan the multinational community is such that autonomy for the individual peoples is practically impossible. The national demarcation in Central Asia is also a unique experience! Look at the map: See how convoluted the republics' borders are in a number of cases. But this reflects the equally "convoluted" settlement pattern.

[Melikyants] Lenin wrote: Hundreds of thousands of people are moving from one end of Russia to the other, the national composition of the population is shifting, isolation and national backwardness must disappear...

[Polyakov] In our country even now, for example, 66 percent (1979 census) of the total number of Armenians in the USSR live in Armenia, 11.5 percent live in Azerbaijan, almost 11 percent in Georgia, and approximately 9 percent in the Russian Federation. Some 20 percent or so of Tajiks live outside the republic's borders. Only 26 percent of Tatars live in the Tatar ASSR itself.... Evidently, the process of eliminating "isolation and backwardness" is more protracted than we supposed.

If we are talking about historical experience, the stage when the national republics came to unity after stating their commitment to living as one family is very important. The unification occurred voluntarily, in accordance with the Leninist principle of self-determination as far as separation. Moreover he particularly stressed the "as far as," believing that separation is not imperative but that the right to separation is.

[Melikyants] Yuriy Aleksandrovich, this brief digression into history has convinced us that, during the national-state building which was taking place for the first time, questions were being considered which had received no attention from earliest times. But we began to really delve into them. At the same time, was everything done as intended, as it was seen? Are some things not having an impact on our time? For instance, the apparatus was indigenized, as they said at the time. How is this regarded today?

[Polyakov] In those areas where indigenization was carried out naturally (that is, the children of the indigenous nationality graduated from schools and were trained) it was both useful and good. But when norms were established—there must be such and such a percentage of indigenous nationalities in such and such an establishment—this was harmful. In our desire to do something more quickly we sometimes did it worse, for a hastily trained specialist is a bad specialist, and a hastily trained intellectual is simply not an intellectual.

[Melikyants] But let us formulate the question in the following way: If the process of creating national cadres in all sectors had not been set in motion, albeit with the use of planning, we would have dragged it out for a long time....

[Drobizheva] It is reasonable to provide incentives for those who had more difficulties with education. For the new power to be able to grow stronger there must be leaders who know local conditions, who can sense the mood and speak the national tongue. Teachers and doctors who knew the language of the local population were also necessary. However, there were not enough own cadres in the localities. It is important that people arriving in the so-called outlying regions at that time endeavored to study the language, history, and culture of their new "home." This was considered good form.

[Melikyants] Let us recall the famous "Lenin train" which founded Tashkent University.

[Drobizheva] This is very serious in the context of the problem which scientists call the adaptation of migrants. In Estonia, for example, there was a need to intensify the

development of natural resources and provide a work force for a number of economic sectors. What social consequences did this have? Are we ready here for a plurality of opinions? Some of our Estonian colleagues believe it necessary to halt the influx of specialists from outside because that influx is reducing the proportion of the Estonian population, and in the physical production sectors, too, which is especially alarming. Another group of specialists believes that in the interests of the republic's development this influx must not be halted. Thus there must be an open and fearless discussion—both in Estonia itself and among those specialists who are engaged on these problems outside the republic. After all, this question, like any other, affects the whole country.

[Polyakov] There are two clearly expressed viewpoints on national schools, as well. Why, for example, is the number of Belorussian schools being reduced? The usual answer is that there has been a reduction in the number of pupils. If there are no pupils there are no schools either. Others say: If people are to learn Belorussian, schools must be made available, then the pupils will appear. What comes first, the schools or the pupils?

[Melikyants] Let us approach the question in a different way with particular emphasis on specific conditions: just one Kirghiz school in the Kirghiz capital—that cannot be normal. Indeed, where is there to study the Kirghiz language?

[Polyakov] I studied at the Russian school in Uzbekistan and the study of Uzbek was compulsory for us there. In my view it is the duty of all citizens whatever their nationality to learn the language of the republic they live in.

[Melikyants] Everyone agrees on that. The question concerns national schools. If the study of the Belorussian language is left to Russian schools alone, soon only a few individuals will know Belorussian...

[Drobizheva] Nevertheless, there is the democratic principle of people's will. This question should not be answered emotionally but by a public opinion poll and the elucidation of all sides of the problem.

[Polyakov] You are right, Leokadiya Mikhaylovna, the voluntary principle is obligatory. But solutions must be sought. For example, could there be schools with parallel classes in various languages? It is essential to study the language of the republic in question, there are no problems here, save one—you need good teachers and good teaching.

I believe that on questions such as this one should not look to the state to adopt measures of enforcement but should consistently, scientifically, and intelligently seek ways to improve matters.

[Melikyants] But our comrades from the republics say that it is not just a question of instructing children in their native language. The reduction of teaching in that language slows down the development of the language, it becomes impoverished and ceases to acquire concepts and terms spawned by life, science, and technology. The language goes into decline; not only do fewer speak it, fewer write it as well.

[Drobizheva] Once again, it is a purely personal matter which language you write in. Oles Gonchar writes in Ukrainian but Fazil Iskander, for example, uses Russian—what problems does this create?

[Melikyants] The development of the national languages and national cultures in our country is a state concern, let us not forget that.

[Polyakov] We are stating the existence of a problem. It cannot be resolved at a stroke. Like other problems which may occur anywhere and at any time. This specific problem is now becoming smoldering; it has been noted by writers, sociologists, and historians. The best options must be sought before it becomes difficult to deal with.

[Drobizheva] It is also necessary to take account of historical experience here. The struggle for all national cultural symbols, such as a language for example, has always reflected the social interests of certain groups. Nowadays, it seems to me, it is important to see not only one's national interests but also the country's common interests. Otherwise, instead of stressing socioeconomic acceleration we shall be shifting the emphasis in the solution of national problems merely to the elucidation of linguistic or cultural-historical questions. They are important, undoubtedly; they must be resolved—but it is even more important that national factors manifested outwardly (for example, linguistic and territorial factors) do not eclipse the solution of our society's economic and general social problems.

[Melikyants] Among the phenomena of national life there is an asepct directly related to national behavioral characteristics. This is a new sphere of knowledge for us; meanwhile it is providing information about mutual relations among nations, their coexistence, for example, information which is very necessary in our time.

[Drobizheva] Yes, our study of people's life values, orientations, and interests, everything which relates to ethnic psychology, has been poor. It is possible to quickly raise the level of the peoples' education but it is impossible to rapidly reshape the people's psychology. It is time, however, it has long been time to study it and use its results.

[Polyakov] This is also of applied significance. The Japanese, for example, have established precisely which production skills are particularly characteristic of the Japanese as a whole and for the inhabitants of individual regions in particular. But can we scientifically validate

something similar? This does not mean that it is necessary to restrict the participation of particular peoples in particular activity, but does it really prevent us knowing people's preferences, habits, or traditions? After all, they are different and we shall never escape that fact. Thus it is necessary to use all the traditional forms which different peoples have to encourage joint achievements.

[Melikyants] With the many themes that we have discussed we have somehow overlooked the integrated national economic complex...

[Drobizheva] Increasing the effectiveness of each republic's contribution to this complex and the division of labor for the immediate future will perhaps be among the most urgent questions of interethnic relations. This urgency is reflected by the Estonian scientists' proposal on elevating economic accountability [khozraschet] to the republic level. How? By transferring the whole republic to economic accountability? Initially to some people this seemed the ultimate in exclusivity. But let us not be in a hurry to use labels; this is a question of the effectiveness of investments and the development of interethnic relations in the economic sphere on the basis of mutually beneficial interest, and a question of enhancing the sense of social responsibility among the whole people. [Polyakov] Each republic has its own economic "conundrums." In Uzbekistan, for example, there is a manpower surplus. How is this problem to be resolved? Within the framework of the republic? Or within the framework of the state as a whole? By exporting manpower? But attempts to carry out a physical relocation of this kind have not always been succesful. In the case of the construction detachments (such as on the Baykal-Amur railway) which formed part of multinational formations, it worked despite that.

[Drobizheva] But the resettlement to the non-Chernozem Zone has still not produced the expected effect: A great number of Uzbeks have come, almost as many have left. Generally speaking the regulation of migration is a sensitive issue. We long thought that if the Russian language were widespread in the regions with "abundant manpower," the exodus from the republics might be increased. But for most Kabardins, Chechens, Ingush, and Balkars, Russian is like their native tongue and nevertheless their representatives who have been educated in other regions subsequently go back home to the land of their forefathers, and this is understandable: It is traditional.

[Polyakov] It is important that national traditions are combined with international traditions. They are produced by life, they are not imposed, not invented, and have thus become a mighty force—and these are not mere words, this is the reality.

[Melikyants] Briefly speaking, how is internationalism manifesting itself today?

[Polyakov] In television broadcasts and in letters from Nagorno Karabakh Armenians and Azerbaijanis, explaining their pain in connection with the events taking place there, stress that they have always lived and worked together. This is a foundation, this is what cements our life. Every fraternal republic is multinational; people of various nationalities work at most enterprises.

[Drobizheva] We usually talk about manifestations of internationalism in major activities. We could all name many of them. But internationalism is manifested not only in relations between republics and peoples as a whole; it is also found in people's day-to-day behavior. It is the belief that my people is no more important than any other people, but the same as any other people, and that, like my people, the other is just as capable of social and cultural achievements. It is the idea that different peoples' cultures cannot develop in isolation without feeling the influence of modern artistic progress. Finally, it is a willingness to have contact with people of a different nationality in everyday life, an ability to see and feel the interests of one's own people and to be aware of the interests of neighbors and of other peoples and, above all, to be aware of our common social concerns. We have been putting off tackling pressing national problems for a long time. That is simply impossible now. Occasionally there are problems between neighboring peoples and in other cases there is a need to meet the social, cultural, and consumer needs of nationalities living in the midst of the republic's main indigenous population. Some of our concerns are due to deviations from Lenin's nationalities policy and many result from distortions in the economic and moral sphere during the stagnation years. That is why we are so looking forward to the CPSU Central Committee plenum on national relations.

[Polyakov] We are now talking about the political rights of nonindigenous nationalities, their representation in soviets and in each republic's government bodies....

[Drobizheva] But there is also the question of satisfying their cultural, social, and consumer interests, and we do not want to see anything bad in the expression of these requirements. For example, Tatars in Moscow have started celebrating the sabantuy [spring festival]. People listened to Tatar songs, danced, talked in their native tongue; incidentally, the sabantuy attracted many Russians as well. Let there be national theaters, newspapers, cafes, and national festivals, they will be of interest to people of other nationalities: Why not go and see, give it a try?

[Polyakov] International everyday life must be a subject of proper scientific study. We are more interested in individual nations than in studying them as a group. Talking about science in general, we are past masters at ignoring the difficulties in national issues. Take the North Caucasus, the expulsion of entire peoples and their return. Chechens, Ingush, Balkars, and Karachays

young and old know what happened to them between 1944 and 1956. When historians ignore it, what respect can there be for history? When embarking on the history of the North Caucasus, staff of the Institute of USSR History encountered direct opposition from certain local party and scientific workers. A student of ours completed a dissertation on the restoration of Chechen-Ingush autonomy 10 years ago, but it was last December before he defended it. The objectors' arguments were odd: If you are going to talk about restoration, they said, you have to talk about liquidation, and that means delving into the past. But how can you not delve? Let people know the truth and not listen to cock-and-bull stories....

[Melikyants] But perhaps certain people did not want certain instances of treachery to come out?

[Drobizheva] The whole truth must be told. It is important here to ascertain not only the reasons for voluntarist decisions, but also how they affected the people's fate. For example, in percentage terms there were more workers among the Chechens and Ingush because, after being resettled, they were cut off from agricultural labor. But there are obvious "gaps" in the formation of the intelligentsia, particularly the production and scientific intelligentsia. This is still a factor, although they have been given preferential conditions in VUZ's and in postgraduate study. What mark did the unwarranted repressions have on the minds of hundreds of thousands of people of different generations, older people and those who grew up in resettlement conditions and then returned home? Is there a sense of grievance? How are relations developing with people who were settled there after the war? This must be thoroughly studied so that everything can be worked out. National feelings are being demonstrated very vigorously at the moment. This frightens some people. They even believe that... democracy must not be developed further. But it is in the new conditions that it is important to get used to a diversity of opinion and displays of national feelings. One needs only to have a debate without losing human dignity, and with respect for one another's national feelings.

In periods of abrupt historical change, V.I. Lenin taught, it is important, without forgetting to be attentive and sensitive to national interests, to concentrate on the solution of the main tasks of the revolution. Today, now that we are busy democratizing society and establishing new economic relations, we must not hinder but assist our national patriotic feelings. Otherwise the implementation of the chief radical transformations that restructuring brings will be hampered. They must always take pride of place.

[Polyakov] Let us be fair: We have tried hard to propagandize internationalism. Friendship evenings, lectures, talks, meetings with veterans—I do not want to belittle their significance. But the internationalist traditions of joint labor, established, for example, in Minsk, Baku, the Donbass, and in the Urals, are not just themes for propaganda work, they are concentrated experience that urgently demands analysis so that it can be used well and mistakes can be avoided. But it is analysis that we lack.

[Drobizheva] Thus far our entire nationalities policy has been geared toward achieving actual equality among the nations. Fundamental steps toward this have already been taken. Practically equal, socially and culturally developed peoples are in contact with one another. But once having decided that this was the summit of all our work, we then discovered that we are undergoing a major mental restructuring. For example: Russians previously always acted as helpers. Now it has to be borne in mind that they live and work on an equal footing with peoples already possessing a working class and intelligentsia of their own and conscious of having achieved great successes. Thus mental restructuring must take place both among those who have been helped (they must understand that they can no longer count on the previous amount of help) and, of course, among those who have helped (the latter have perceived that they are alongside equal partners). The problem is that mental restructuring will take quite a long time. On the other hand, when peoples come into contact with others of equal sociocultural status a competitive situation is created—that is to say, professional qualities alone count in getting a particular post. But far from everyone is ready for this, the results of such "competition between people's knowledge and ability" has still to be realized and taken on board. However, in a multinational milieu any dissatisfaction can be transplanted into nationalist soil.

It is very important how other factors which influence national relations operate in the restructuring that is under way. For example, the law, the existence of cultural traditions, and the interests of specific peoples. We enjoy a favorable situation in as much as the state, the law, and our whole ideology are directed toward strengthening friendship among the peoples. It is no accident that all of our people experienced the events in Kazakhstan and Yakutia or that we are all now experiencing what is happening in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

[Polyakov] Incidentally, these same events, together with their adverse consequences, have also demonstrated the soundness of the internationalist foundations in the masses. We know know that it is possible to count on the majority's internationalist consciousness. We must now be ready for difficulties, for open discussion on nationalities problems. This requires that we know how to argue and persuade people.

[Melikyants] Why, in your view, did the excesses occur in Alma-Ata and Sumgait?

[Polyakov] The tense nature of nationalist feelings was exploited by anti-Soviet, extremist elements. This led to violence and crime. Crime must be punished, and without fail.

But where did the tension in Karabakh, for example, come from? It lies both in remote echoes of the discord fomented there by nationalists during the very difficult period of intervention and the civil war and in our own shortcomings in the sphere of the autonomous oblast's socioeconomic and cultural development. Grounds for hasty, one-sided demands that sometimes assume acute forms arise in just such conditions. Nor should attempts to use the process of democratization for narrow selfish interests be discounted. The result being disturbances, an outbreak of completely unjustifiable violence, and economic damage arising from the fact that people are prevented from working normally.

Much now needs to be done to improve the situation in Karabakh. I think the first requirement is well-conceived measures to speed up the region's social development which will satisfy not individual groups but the whole of its population.

[Drobizheva] I also think that study of all the facts will help us assess the causes of the events. One reason is that democratic traditions are far from being developed to the same degree or in the same way among individual peoples. This also leaves its imprint on behavior today, particularly by manifesting itself in critical situations. We are just learning about many democratic forms of expressing one's will. It is clear, however, that glasnost, calm discussion, and sober decionmaking have a considerable role to play in improving the situation in Karabakh. No questions can be resolved without extensive discussion, without bringing into action all the levers of democracy and glasnost—labor collectives, local soviets, and public organizations. The main thing is that the measures found ensure real opportunities for the local population's social and cultural development and do not ultimately run counter to other nations' interests. A great deal is possible here, particularly joint forms of work between the two republics' administrative organs. This is not ruled out under their constitutions, and what prevents our improving constitutional practice?..

[Melikyants] We have discussed only a small range of questions, but it is clear even from that how multifaceted the problem broached is and how much tact, patience, and serious analysis its solution requires. Experience reminds us that national processes are in a state of development, and it is important that this be appreciated if we are to look ahead with optimism and certainty of success.

Neglect Seen as Root of Nagorno-Karabakh Unrest
PM231401 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 12,
20 Mar 88 p 10

[Karen Khachaturov report: "Fruits of Complacency and Inaction. A Few Days in Nagorno-Karabakh"]

[Text] Stepanakert-Baku—I arrived in Stepanakert, a quiet and agreeable town lying in the midst of snow-capped ridges, the centre of Nagorno-Karabakh, a week after the local Soviet of People's Deputies met in an extraordinary session and passed a decision to appeal for the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region (NKAR) of Azerbaijan to be incorporated into Armenia.

This act had no precedent in the practice of national relations and was not accompanied by any preliminary explanatory work or publicly expressed motivations. The CPSU Central Committee found that the actions and demands, aimed at reconsidering the existing national-territorial setup, were at variance with the interests of the working people in the two republics and would harm inter-national relations.

Let me recall that as early as the 1920s, two national entities with different prerogatives—the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (with a Constitution of its own, responsible for comprehensive economic and social development on its territory) and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region—were formed in Azerbaijan in areas with a predominantly Armenian population. Regrettably, neither the Constitution of the USSR nor the Constitutions of the Union Republics specify the rights of autonomous regions.

With the atmosphere of general euphoria people tneded to believe that the national question had been solved once and for all in the Soviet Union. And if so, why worry about caring attitude towards the needs of every nation so as not to permit the slightest distortion or detect in time even a microscopic flaw. In this context, the events in Nagorno-Karabakh are instructive, since toasts, marches and solemn odes were sounded only recently in honour of national relations there.

What were the outward signs, that were previously not typical of Stepanakert? Some enterprises and educational establishments came to a standstill. Several thousand people kept a round-the-clock vigil in a large square in front of the building of the regional party committee and the many-metre-high monument to Lenin. It is cold at night in the mountains, so campfires kept burning. Peasants from nearby villages brought food for free distribution. Unofficial leaders ensured strict order. Here is a report from Azerbaijan's Ministry of Internal Affairs: "On February 26 this year, 13 criminal cases were registered in the republic, including cases of grievous bodily harm—4, larceny—7, others—2. No crimes were registered in the NKAR."

Thus, there were no excesses, although people in Karabakh are generally known for their passionate bellicosity, in the noble sense of this word. Small nations are particularly fond of counting their heroes: according to the local figures, the people of Karabakh hold an all-union record per capita for the number of military leaders and soldiers decorated with military awards. One in three inhabitants of Karabakh defended the Motherland during World War II and every second of them did not return to the orphaned home.

I can put it on record as an eyewitness: in Stepanakert I did not see a single serviceman and practically no militia. On scarlet posters there were slogans: "One People—One Land!", "With the Russian People—For All Time!", "Long Live Friendship Between the Armenian and Azerbaijan Peoples!", "Long Live the Leninist Nationalities Policy!", "Leninist Friendship of Peoples Is Our Great Asset!", "Friendship!", "Moscow!", "Gorbachev!", "Lenin, the Party, Gorbachev!" The latter slogan was chanted most frequently and loudly. Was everyone being sincere?

But, in the meantime, the enteprises and schools were inactive. The events in Nagorno-Karabakh were followed by similar events in Armenia, primarily in Yerevan. The population of Azerbaijan, including Armenians residing outside the NKAR, was stirred into commotion. There arose the phenomenon locally known as the system of communicating vessels—a dangerous phenomenon which threatens unpredictable consequences in a sharp and dramatic situation.

Root Cause of The Conflict [subhead]

During the talks and discussions I had with people from widely different walks of life, they advanced what were, in effect, arguments of the same type. My counterparts stressed that the main question now was the need to restore justice because originally, in keeping with the Soviet Government's decrees and with Lenin's support, Nagorno-Karabakh was proclaimed an inalienable part of Soviet Armenia. They also emphasized the unique situation which makes the NKAR the Soviet Union's only autonomous entity the majority of whose population was similar to that of an existing Union Republic. But there arises a counterargument: several generations of Azerbaijan's inhabitants did not accept this point of view, and this was their constitutional right. Moreover, the NKAR has no common frontier with Armenia and has been integrated with Azerbaijan's national economic complex.

On the other hand, it is wrong to brush aside the demographic problem in the NKAR (2.6 per cent of Azerbaijan's population and 5 per cent of its territory) where, according to census findings over two decades (1959-1979), the percentage of Armenians dropped from 84.4 to 75.8 per cent, while that of Azerbaijanians increased from 13.8 to 22.9 per cent. Moreover, reference is made with much concern to the destiny of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic where, during the years of its existence, the predominantly Armenian population dropped to less than 2 per cent.

I see the root cause of this situation not so much in the higher birth rate among Azerbaijanians as in the deformation of the socio-economic and cultural conditions of life in the autonomous region. Statisticians have prepared for the NKAR a place under the sun, in all indices. But there are weighty reasons for doubting these optimistic calculations. The rights to autonomy have been limited and are sometimes even fictitious. Evan an appointment to the job of doctor or teacher is sanctioned by the republican ministry. A blind curtain has been put up between the NKAR and Armenia, from where they could at least receive books in their native language. Even the curricula of the Humanities Faculty of the Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute, the only higher educational establishment in the autonomous region, have no course on the history and geography of Armenia.

The social sphere has been particularly neglected. The metal structures of the planned sports complex have turned rusty. The promises to build a House of Young Pioneers and other childcare institutions have not been honoured for years.

The scientists of the two republics do not set the best example to the younger generation when they engage in a tug of war to prove the historical primogeniture. Why, for example, in a monograph published in 1986 by the Institute of History of Azerbaijan's Academy of Sciences, did Farida Mamedova need to assert a blatantly incorrect version, to warn against "overestimating the information of the ancient writers" Pliny, Appianus, Dione, Cassius, Plutarch and Pompeius on the grounds that "their information was accidental, contradictory and possibly inaccurate". Why, for example, should the khachkars, the stone crosses that have been sacred for Armenians ever since the Middle Ages, be turned into ritual attributes of an alien material culture? Some scientists in Armenia also tend to engage in unscientific, nationalistic vulgarizations. All of this convinces us of only one thing: the "logic" of reciprocal abuse is irrational, and serves only to disunite people.

There is much bitterness and resentment that have been accumulating for decades in Nagorno-Karabakh, and people lay the blame on the former leadership of Azerbaijan and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region. B. Kevorkov, who headed Karabakh's Party organization for more than fifteen years, turned out to be politically bankrupt. The Communists elected Genrikh Pogosyan First Secretary of the Regional Party Committee.

I met him the fourth day he was in office. he is a native of Nagorno-Karabakh and a graduate of the Moscow Institute of the Mechanization and Electrification of Agriculture. As First Vice-Chairman of the Regional Soviet of People's Deputies he was at the head of the agro-industrial complex. Youthful and quick moving for his almost sixty years, a technocrat with basic oratory skills, he enjoys high prestige. "The main thing today is to concentrate on specific economic and social tasks in the spirit of the policy of perestroyka and renewal," he says in a voice which became hoarse with all the meetings and discussions.

The Hour of Reason And Sober Decisions [subhead]

During the alarming days of late February and early March the peoples of Karabakh and the whole of Azerbaijan and Armenia felt the pulse of Moscow and the concern of the CPSU Central Committee. Present throughout this time in Azerbaijan were Alternate Members of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee Georgiy Razumovskiy, secretary of the party's Central Committee, and Petr Demichev, first vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. They studied the state of affairs in the localities, the needs of the working people and helped the local party and government organizations find ways to normalize the situation.

Of crucial importance for normalization of the situation was Mikhail Gorbachev's Appeal to the workers and all other people of Azerbaijan and Armenia. On more than one occasion I saw newspaper clips with the text of the Appeal, read literally until they fell apart, and kept carefully in breast pockets. Can a sincere person and a patriot be left indifferent by these words: "Mothers want for their children not national strife, but durable relations of friendship, equality and mutual assistance—the truly great asset of socialism."

The party leadership's call is being filled with specific content. A few days ago the Politburo instructed the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee to organize an in-depth and all-round study of the problems piled up in the NKAR, the reasons for the exacerbation of international relations around it, and work out pertinent proposals for their implementation.

For all their specifics the events in Nagorno-Karabakh are only one of the neuralgic knots that have come to light of late in national relations—the most sensitive and delicate sphere of human mentality and existence. That is why one of the coming plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee will deal specially with the development of national relations. One of the key issues, I believe, is to guarantee the autonomous region's socio-economic and cultural rights against unconstitutional and unlawful actions.

Today Stepanak[illegible]nd the settlements and villages of Nagorno-Ka[illegible]nd work the normal way. The enterprises, [illegible]ew in number, and educational establishments are making up for lost time. And the peasant is as always in the field, caringly tending to the future harvest of wheat, barley, potatoes, cotton, tobacco or grapes, or putting sheep to graze. He works with care on the land lavishly soaked with the blood of internationalists, fighters for the victory of the social revolution in this proud mountain country.

Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, which one hundred years ago accounted for about half the world oil output, has moulded the magnificent traditions of working class international brotherhood. The first plenipotentiary body of Soviet power in the Caucasus was the Baku government headed by by Lenin's comrade-in-arms Stepan Shaumyan, in whose honour the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh has been named. Soviet power was overthrown by British-German interventionists and Azerbaijan nationalists. On September 20, 1918, 26 members of the Baku government, including its leaders brought together by bonds of fraternal friendship, were heinously shot in the sands of the Trans-Caspian Region. Let us recall some of their names: Stepan Shaumyan, an Armenian, Meshadi Azizbekov, an Azerbaijanian, Aleksey Dzhaparidze, a Georgian, Ivan Fioletov, a Russian. Their feat is not just something to be remembered from the past, but a reminder to the present generations, for whom the hour of reason and sober decisions has come.

'Delayed-Action Ethnic Bomb' Idea Ridiculed

LD222118 Moscow World Service in English 1610 GMT 22 Mar 88

[From the "Up to Date" program; interview with (Mahsoud Junusev), staff member of the Institute of Sociological Studies, by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Now hold your breath: we're about to defuse the delayed-action ethnic bomb, which according to Western mass media is right in the soft underbelly of the Soviet Union. Who placed it there? Seems like Russians themselves when they formed together with Tadzhiks, Uzbeks, Tatars, and other nationalities the Union of Soviet Republics. Tune in for a bomb-defusing discussion with (Mahsoud Junusev), born in central Asia. [passage omitted]

Some foreign observers have come to the conclusion that Muslim nationalities will sooner or later make up the bulk of Soviet society. This change, according to them, will inevitably entail a struggle against Russian primacy in the higher echelons of power in the first place. (Mahsoud Junusev), who was born in central Asia, is staff member of the Institute of Sociological Studies. He specializes in the relations between nationalities. He comments on those forecasts.

[(Junusev)] The delayed-action ethnic bomb is one of the favorite topics in the West. Forecasts of this sort are not something new to us. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Nationalities may enjoy equal rights and live side by side and yet have no love for each other. (Alezander Benningsan), a French Sovietologist, and author of the book, "Islamic Threat to the Soviet State," wrote in the newspaper LE FIGARO that the Muslim and Russian populations of the Soviet orient coexist in at atmosphere of alienation, do not mix, and entertain no friendly feelings towards each other. What do you think about these statements?

[(Junusev)] To begin with, I'd like to point out that the term "Muslim population" is incorrect. Islam, once a mandatory religion professed by one and all in the

oriental part of the country, has lost its former grip over the souls of my compatriots. Interviews have shown that only 20 in every 100 adults call themselves believers; 10 are uncertain or refrain from answering; the rest are confirmed atheists. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Your arguments sound logical and convincing, but aren't they refuted by the events that took place in Alma-Ata in 1986 and in Azerbaijan last February?

[(Junusev)] Not in the least. Both events are one more tangible reminder that the development of relations between nationalities in such a big and polyethnic country has its problems, and that these should not be ignored. Let's turn to the core of the issue. The reorganization drive that had started in all spheres of life in this country is not proceedihg without struggle. The overwhelming majority of people, irrespective of their nationalities, are on the side of the reorganization. But there are also those who for selfish reasons regard the changes as undesirable. Being deprived of the posts and privileges which they didn't deserve, they are now seeking the support of the people. The simplest way to achieve this aim is to use immature youths. This is a general outline of the underlying reason of what took place in Alma-Ata in December. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Is it correct to say that the population increase in the central Asia republics, even though declining in absolute terms, will nevertheless surpass that in the European part of the country?

[(Junusev)] It's a mistake. The thing is, that this increase will become zero at a certain moment, which is now observed in Soviet Baltic republics, Belorussia, and in many European regions of the Russian Federation. All countries the world over will reach this equilibrium when the number of annual births equals the number of deaths. Demographic experts believe that the population of the Soviet Union will be held steady at the level of 400 million in about 80 years.

[Correspondent] What about the ethnic make-up?

[(Junusev)] it's hard to give a definite answer today, but I think that for those who'll live in the 21st century, the question will be of no great importance. And all the discussions of the ethnic bomb issue, like the dreams of attaining supremacy on a global scale, with the help of a neutron bomb, will look to them as nothing but manifestations of a stone age mentality.

Dolgikh Addresses Conference on Traffic Safety

PM181435 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Mar 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conference at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A conference was held at the CPSU Central Committee 12 March to examine a range of questions connected with ensuring safety on rail, road, air, sea, and river transport and also with stepping up the party's leadership of this work.

Reports on measures designed to considerably reduce the transport accident rate were delivered by N.S. Konarev, USSR minister of railways, and A.N. Volkov, USSR minister of civil aviation. The following took part in the discussion: A.V. Vlasov, USSR minister of internal affairs; L.V. Bagrov, RSFSR minister of the river fleet; A.A. Titarenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; S.V. Urzhumov, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; G.A. Anchabadze, secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee; A.S. Tumanov, secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom; V.F. Sapronov, secretary of the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet party committee; S.Yu. Lapina, secretary of the Far East Railroad Ussuriysk Junction party committee; I.Ye. Savchenko, chief of the Political Department of the Tyumen Civil Aviation Administration; L.A. Yakovlev, chairman of the Motor Transport and Highway Workers Union Central Committee; and a number of other comrades.

The conference was addressed by V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He stressed that the party Central Committee and the Soviet Government pay constant attention to reducing the transport accident rate in the belief that this problem is of considerable social significance. In recent years a number of party and government resolutions have been adopted on these questions. Substantial financial and material resources are being allocated to implement them. However, the situation in this important area remains unsatisfactory. This applies above all to rail and road transport and to civil aviation.

Many economic leaders and party, soviet, and trade union organs at local level fail to draw the necessary conclusions from the accidents that have occurred, have underestimated the existing safety situation, and have permitted indiscipline in fulfilling the relevant decisions. Crashes and accidents cause considerable moral and economic damage and result in injuries and sometimes loss of life.

The accident situation is worst on the Volga, Gorkiy, Transcaucasus, Azerbaijan, and Transbaykal Railroads, in the North Sea, the Caspian, and the Black Sea, on the Lena and Yenisey river routes, and in the East Siberia, North Kazakhstan, and Tyumen Civil Aviation Administrations.

As the conference noted, many crashes and road transport accidents result from a low standard of labor and production discipline, the most flagrant violations of the regulations, official rules, and instructions, and the unconscientious attitude of some workers to the performance of their duties. The disgraceful phenomenon of drunken driving has not been eradicated. One-fifth of highway accidents are due to that fact. Many accidents have occurred in the Kazakh and Moldavian SSR's, the

Buryat and Bashkir ASSR's, Maritime and Altay Krays, and Perm and Irkutsk Oblasts. All this is evidence of serious shortcomings in educational work with people in labor collectives.

Attention was drawn to serious shortcomings in the work of the Inspectorate of the USSR Ministry of Railways, the State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration, the USSR State Commission for Flight Safety of Civil Aviation, and shipping inspectorates, which do not ensure proper monitoring of the fulfillment by all workers of their official duties and of the normative documents aimed at ensuring traffic safety and do not seek to increase the exactingness shown by inspectors or to step up preventive measures. Soviet and administrative organs at local level have not been paying sufficient attention to questions of the equipment, maintenance, and operation of railroad crossings and highways and to the strict observance of traffic regulations by drivers and pedestrians.

The increase in the accident rate involving private transport is causing grave concern. The proportion of traffic accidents involving drivers of private transport in the past 5 years has risen from 55 percent to 66 percent of the total. The situation in the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kuybyshev and Tyumen Oblasts, and Moscow is unsatisfactory in this respect. Voluntary car enthusiast societies offer completely unsatisfactory help in reducing the accident rate on private transport.

Serious complaints have been leveled against the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, which are not meeting the targets for the production of thermoplastics and fire-resistant decorative, trim, and structural materials. Machine building enterprises are not producing enough instruments and equipment to ensure traffic safety. The standard of the technical means and automated systems used in this respect is inadequate. The work of research and planning organizations, scientists, and specialists is poor here.

Many trade union committees have still not found their place in resolving the tasks connected with ensuring transport safety. In the majority of collectives the work of comrades' courts and public traffic safety and labor protection inspectors is poor. Some leaders of enterprises and trade union organizations do not show initiative in resolving social and everyday questions or due concern for people and the creation of normal working and leisure conditions. This is largely due to the widespread practice of overtime working on the railways and in road transport and to violations of labor legislation.

Great responsibility for organizing work to increase traffic safety rests on the party committees of rail junctions and maritime steamship companies. Some of them lack exactingness, commitment, and system in their work and manifestations of formalism are still common. Many measures are planned but there is not enough actual organizational work in collectives. This is true of a number of party organizations in Tataria, Bashkiria, and Dagestan and Odessa, Kirov, and other oblasts.

The conference determined the main directions for intensifying party leadership of the collectives of transport enterprises and subdivisions in ensuring accident-free work. Special attention was paid to improving the selection, placement, and education of cadres, improving the training and skill upgrading system for workers in the main trades, and strengthening order and discipline in all areas of the transport industry.

Attention was drawn to the need to improve the quality of training for drivers of private vehicles, instruct the whole population and in particular schoolchildren in traffic regulations, and ensure thorough study and active use of positive experience of the accident-free operation of transport and pedestrian safety in our country and abroad.

Local party organs are to increase the efficacy of party monitoring of the unconditional fulfillment of party and government decisions on traffic safety, to resolutely improve organizational and political work among labor collectives, to respond keenly to any instances of indiscipline and irresponsibility in the performance of official duties, to pursue a principled line in this important work, to involve primary and shop party organizations, the party groups of transport subdivisions, and labor collective councils more actively in the solution of the aforementioned tasks, and to enhance their role in strengthening organization and order in production and in mobilizing the efforts of Communists and all working people to resolutely eliminate the existing shortcomings.

It was noted that party committees' most important task is to ensure that the leadership personnel of every transport subdivision campaign actively to eliminate accidents and organize the implementation of the planned measures to increase traffic safety. At the same time it was stressed that ministers and leaders of associations and enterprises must personally head the campaign to reduce the accident rate. Comprehensive work must be launched in every transport sector to implement the planned organizational and technical measures, to highlight and eliminate the most vulnerable areas in ensuring safety, and to conduct painstaking daily educational work with people. It is necessary to work to secure a determined turn toward preventive measures, to sharply increase the attention paid to observing technological systems and technical operating rules, to reorganize the work of monitoring organs, to reinforce them with skilled cadres, and to more clearly define workers' duties.

The mass media must provide broader coverage of the organizational, ideological, and educational work of party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations and the leadership of transport enterprises, and highlight advanced collectives' experience of accident-free work.

It is necessary to determinedly increase the effectiveness of criticism and make wider use of the potential of sectoral newspapers and journals for the discussion of urgent problems of traffic safety.

Taking part in the conference were: A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; G.G. Vedernikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.S. Pasternak, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Transport and Communications Department; S.I. Manyakin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee; leaders of the ministries and departments concerned, the AUCCTU and central committees of sectoral trade unions; secretaries of chiefs of the transport and communications departments of union republic Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms; deputy chairmen of krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms; secretaries of party committees of rail junctions, sea and river transport, and civil aviation enterprises; chiefs of railroads, steamship companies, and civil aviation administrations; and senior personnel of the apparatuses of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers.

Readers Comment on 'Pamyat' Organization

PM231157 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[Selection of readers' letters under the "Reader-Newspaper"rubric: "On Memory Real and Imaginary"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The article "'Pamyat' and Others" published in PRAVDA on 1 February 1988 has provoked many responses. They are most diverse and at times are diametrically opposed both in their assessment of the article and in relation to the "Pamyat" association. We now offer you some of them.

PRAVDA's coverage of the situation that is being created in connection with the activity of certain "independent groups" is correct. The initiatives of associations assisting the process of restructuring and helping to eliminate the dubious aspects of our life are to be welcomed. Extremists must be rebuffed intelligently and convincingly. In certain cases the law enforcement organs should apply the articles of the Criminal Law on the Incitement of National Discord.

A. Selivanov, Moscow.

My letter is written in anger. As a war and labor veteran it particularly distresses me that certain scoundrels have been able to insult the memory of those who fell and the monuments of antiquity, history, and culture.

We have so many ruined architectural and historical monuments and war memorials, so many neglected graves—that causes us distress. But the "Pamyat" pseudopatriots are cleverly exploiting that. The worse things are, the more they like it. They do not care about the state of culture, they want to pose before us as "fighters and well-wishers."

O. Gordov, Leningrad.

I read the article and I could not help thinking that I was reading an old newspaper. The date was today's but the article had that same unsubstantiated nature of the times of stagnation, the same use of labels. It is not "criticism" of this kind that we expect from the press now but open and straight talking and, when necessary, debate.

Yu. Sukharev, Moscow.

There are quite a few articles appearing in the press these days defending Armenian culture, Ukrainian culture, Georgian culture, and so on. But if someone speaks in defense of anything Russian they are inevitably regarded as chauvinists or nationalists. You cannot restore the Russian non-Chernozem Zone on internationalism alone without Russian national patriotism. And as for internationalist education, Russians have always been in the forefront there.

V. Makarov, Krasnoarmeysk, Moscow Oblast.

There are many voluntary societies in our country with their own professional staff and their own work plans. What are they doing? The "volunteers" belonging to them meet with representatives of the societies in question usually when it is time to collect membership dues. This is my third year's membership of the society campaigning for sobriety. I do not know what it is actually doing, I see no results of its work. What about DOSAAF? Crowds of adolescents wander around aimlessly; it would be a good idea to have more predraft training centers. Nor is there much to be said about the activity of the Society for the Preservation of Monuments, the All-Russian Society for Safety on Waterways, and others.

I think that the inefficiency of these societies is leading to the appearance of all kinds of independent groupings some of which are far from harmless.

A. Timoshenko, Gomel.

The "Pamyat" leadership does not combat Zionism or cosmpolitanism; it has other, chauvinist aims. But for some reason when we say it is necessary to combat such chauvinism we call for all anti-Zionist propaganda to be reduced. Anti-Zionism is not the same as anti-Semitism. I have been to many stores in Leningrad and found no anti-Zionist literature anywhere. The picture was roughly the same in the reading tooms of libraries. Perhaps there is no Zionism here? Yet the harm of

Zionism is no less than the harm of racism or fascism. Therefore, why are actions against Zionism interpreted by many journalists as anti-Semitic?

V. Golovko, Leningrad.

It offends me when the current leaders of "Pamyat" blame the Jews for everything. My father worked all his life; before the revolution he was a proprietor. I completed 6 years at a Ukrainian school and before the Army I worked in a footwear factory. After the Army and extra military service I completed courses for command personnel and was appointed commander of a communications platoon. I saw active service. I was awarded orders and medals. After demobilization at the end of 1945 and before retirement I worked in a factory making and repairing footwear. My four sisters' husbands died at the front. My wife's elder brother did not return from the war either. And some "Pamyat" leaders have the affrontery to say that the Jews did not fight.

Ya. Geykrater, Kharkov.

A startling and hideous phantasmagoria has occurred whereby a natural concern for the dear people's cultural and historical heritage, the grief of loss, and the desire to prevent new mistakes led to the appearance on the "extremist patriots'" banners of slogans which date back centuries.

The main reason is obvious, I think: It is shortcomings in the system of internationalist and patriotic education and the fact that the most important Leninist guidelines in this sphere have been forgotten or not fully understood. It must be said now that the concept of "the Soviet people" must not be transformed into an abstraction deprived of national content. The uniqueness of the Soviet socialist nation is its diversity, that is, the nations comprising it. Internationalist and patriotic processes here are complementary; you can't have one without the other. The "Pamyat" extremists have replaced their patriotism by common or garden cosmpolitanism.

V. Portnikov, Kiev.

I consider informal associations an integral part of the process of democratization in the country. Whoever said that when given a real right to speak citizens will only say what is correct and will always support restructuring? Opinions have always varied and always will. I believe that in a healthy society neither the majority nor the minority of the people will support these groupings.

V. Nikolayev, Moscow.

Bukharin Rehabilitated, Readmitted to CPSU

LD221431 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1310 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 22 (TANJUG)—Fifty years after his death, Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin has been readmitted to the membership of the Soviet Communist Party, it has been learned from reliable Soviet sources. This formal act marks his full political rehabilitation.

Bukharin, a close collaborator of Lenin during and after the October revolution, later detached himself from Stalin by proposing different paths of economic construction in the Soviet Union. Although forced to "self-criticism and admission of mistakes," Bukharin was sentenced to death at a big trial in 1937 as leader of the "Trotskyite-Zinovievite conspiracy."

Earlier this year Bukharin, Rykov and others were first legally, and now also politically rehabilitated.

Medvedev: 'Pure Formality'

AU231208 Paris AFP in English 1155 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, March 23 (AFP)—Marxist theoretician Nikolay Bukharin was posthumously reintegrated into the Communist Party shortly after his rehabilitation in February, a Soviet dissident said here Wednesday. [passage omitted] Dissident historian Roy Medvedev told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE the party reintegration was a "pure formality," which normally followed rehabilitation, but it did not mean that Soviet officials recognized Bukharin's positions as justified.

No official confirmation of Mr Medvedev's statement was immediately available. But a member of Bukharin's family said it had not been informed of any such move by the authorities.

According to Mr Medvedev, the recent restitution of the late theoretician's works to public libraries was evidence of his renewed party membership. [passage omitted]

Khrushchev's Achievements, Shortcomings Assessed

PM211102 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian
No 12, 19-25 Mar 88 (Signed to Press 17 Mar) pp 5-6

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Drobizhev under the rubric "In the Mirror of History": "N.S. Khrushchev as a Political Figure"]

[Text] The period from 1953 through 1964 in our history is associated above all with the personality of N.S. Khrushchev, who headed the Communist Party for more than 11 years and the Soviet Government for more than 6 years.

Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev was born in the village of Kalinovka in Kursk province in 1894. He died in Moscow in 1971. From 1908 he worked in the plants and pits of the Donbass. He joined the Bolshevik party in 1918. He participated actively in the civil war. In 1929 he was a student at the Industrial Academy in Moscow. From 1931 he was engaged in party work, and in 1935 he was elected first secretary of Moscow All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Obkom and Gorkom. From 1938 through March 1947 he was first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee. During the Great Patriotic War he was a member of the military councils of the Southwestern Salient and the Southwestern, Stalingrad, Southern, Voronezh, and 1st Ukrainian Fronts. In 1943 he was given the military title of lieutenant general. At the end of the war N.S. Khrushchev was appointed to the post of chairman of the Soviet Government of the Ukraine, and in December 1947 he became first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee. From December 1949 he was secretary of the Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow party committee. In March 1953, after the death of I.V. Stalin, Khrushchev became secretary, and in September of the same year first secretary, of the CPSU Central Committee.

N.S. Khrushchev, a man of great natural gumption and seething energy, was fated to set about tackling crucial historical tasks. Under his personal leadership the first blow was struck against the bureaucratic methods of leadership of the party and state that had grown up under Stalin, the abuses of power, lawlessness, and tyranny of the period of the personality cult were exposed, and many thousands of prominent party figures, major military leaders, and economic managers were rehabilitated.

Exposing the Personality Cult [subhead]

Perhaps Khrushchev's most significant role was in the sphere of improving the political structure of Soviet society, in the ideological sphere. From 1954 N.S. Khrushchev was constantly raising questions of the need for further democratization of the Soviet state apparatus. At the 20th CPSU Congress in 1956 Khrushchev delivered a secret report "On the Personality Cult and Its Consequences."

The 20th party congress approved the provisions of the Central Committee report and instructed the CPSU Central Committee consistently to implement measures to ensure the total eradication of the personality cult, which is alien to Marxism-Leninism, the elimination of its consequences in all spheres of party, state, and ideological work, and strict observance of the norms of party life and principles of collective party leadership elaborated by V.I. Lenin. Soon after the 20th congress a special Central Committee resolution "On the Personality Cult and Its Consequences" was adopted, which discussed the objective and subjective causes of the emergence of Stalin's personality cult and its harmful consequences in the sphere of political, state, and economic leadership of the country.

The exposure of Stalin's personality cult, which we associate first and foremost with Khrushchev's name, was of tremendous importance for a return to the Leninist norms of party life.

But in speaking of N.S. Khrushchev's positive contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist ideology it is necessary to stress at the same time that he showed a tendency to force the pace and that strict scientific analysis of reality was not infrequently replaced by a fondness for impracticable schemes during that period. The most graphic illustration of this is certain provisions of the CPSU Program that was adopted at the 22d party congress.

The program said, as is known, that in the next decade (1961-1970) the USSR, "creating the material and technical base of communism, will surpass capitalism's mightiest and richest country—the United States—in terms of production of output per capita; the material prosperity and technical and cultural standard of the working people will rise considerably." In the second decade (1971-1980) it was planned to create a powerful material and technical base for communism, which would ensure an abundance of material and cultural assets for the entire population. The program said: "Soviet society will approach in earnest the implementation of the principle of distribution according to needs and a gradual transition to single ownership by the whole people will take place. Thus on the whole a communist society will be built in the USSR."

Life demonstrated the untenability of these schemes. Instead of improving socialism and developing it on its own basis, N.S. Khrushchev (although we clearly should not accuse him alone of impracticable schemes), continuing the line of the 18th All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress, began to speak in the late fifties and early sixties about the need for the detailed building of communism and the transition to public communist self-management by the people.

The Economy [subhead]

N.S. Khrushchev devoted much attention to the development of the economy and first and foremost that backward sector, agriculture. As early as September 1953, in a report at a Central Committee plenum, Khrushchev raised the question of the need for radical changes in the sphere of agriculture. It was stated at the plenum that the enormous reserves latent in large-scale socialist agricultural production are poorly exploited. Khrushchev also criticized G.M. Malenkov's statement at the 19th party congress that the grain problem had already been resolved in the USSR. "Grain production today," Khrushchev stressed, "does not yet meet the requirements, it does not cover all the needs of the

national economy." With a view to ensuring the speediest resolution of the grain problem N.S. Khrushchev put forward the task of opening up the virgin and long-fallow lands.

N.S. Khrushchev devoted great attention to democratizing agricultural management and for the first time formulated the idea that the planning of sowings in the country was too centralized. They were trying to dictate from a single center what to sow, and how, in the Ukraine and Maritime Kray, the North Caucasus and East Siberia. At the CPSU Central Committee September (1953) Plenum N.S. Khrushchev said clearly and specifically, for the first itme, that without the development of material incentives (and that was impossible without a significant increase in purchase prices) it is impossible to achieve a breakthrough in the development of agricultural production. It was also under Khrushchev that the new standard charter for an agricultural artel was adopted, which marked a significant step forward along the path of democratizing kolkhoz management.

Yet in the sphere of agriculture, where Khrushchev considered himself a great expert, serious mistakes were made. Thus he gave T.D. Lysenko every possible encouragement and sharply criticized the grassland system of crop farming. Khrushchev repeatedly said that the planning of sowings and a number of other factors in a vast country like ours depend on climatic conditions, and yet he stubbornly called for tillage system of crop farming in all climatic zones.

Khrushchev was an ardent champion of corn. His passion, so to speak, for corn began while he was working in the Ukraine, where corn gave good yields. This interest was stepped up even further after Khrushchev's trip to the United States in 1959: When he spoke, Khrushchev repeatedly compared the structure of sowings in the United States and the Soviet Union and spoke of our backwardness in that corn in the USSR occupies a smaller proportion of sown areas than in the United States. That is how the ubiquitous sowing of corn began, covering even the northern regions of the country—Vologda, Arkhangelsk, and other oblasts.

N.S. Khrushchev devoted great attention to the development of industry. At the Central Committee July (1955) plenum the question was raised of the need for a steep increase in the pace of technical progress in all sectors of industry on the basis of electrification, the comprehensive mechanization and automation of manufacturing processes, the introduction of the latest highly productive machine tools, machines, and equipment, the steady improvement of production technology, and the use of nuclear power for peaceful purposes.

Against Bureaucracy and Overcentralization [subhead]

At the same Central Committee plenum it was stated that there are many superfluous components, operating in parallel, at ministries, departments, and enterprises. Administrative management staffs were still large, and consequently the management apparatus was inflexible, was divorced to a significant degree from production, and was diverting a large number of workers from participation in the creation of material assets.

Khrushchev initiated a radical reorganization of the organs of management of industry and construction. In February 1957 a Central Committee plenum adopted a decision on the elimination of sector ministries and the creation of territorial organs of industrial management to replace them—the National Economic Councils. In this connection it was stated that departmentalism in the leadership of industry and construction leads to the weakening and breaking of normal territorial links among enterprises in different sectors of industry located in the same economic nation and often allows no opportunity to resolve economic questions on the spot, make expedient use of available resources, and so forth.

The 1957 reform served as the basis for numerous subsequent reorganizations of the state and party apparatus. In the localities, national economic councils were set up within the framework of oblasts, and these were soon amalgamated to form regional economic councils of large economic administrative regions. The Supreme National Economic Council was set up, to coordinate the work of industry and construction on a statewide scale.

However, life showed that the correct observations on the shortcomings of the sector structure of industrial management in no way eradicated the need for centralized leadership of sectors of industry. The 1957 reform led to fragmentation in the sectors of industry and struck a blow against unified technical policy. Attempts at numerous reorganizations of the state apparatus did nothing to help eliminate these shortcomings.

At the same time by the early sixties articles were beginning to appear in the press on the need to utilize cost levers of management and introduce full economic accountability. The 1965 economic reform, proclaimed after Khrushchev was removed from his post, began to be prepared during his time.

In the sixties party organs were reorganized on N.S. Khrushchev's initiative. Integrated party committees were split up into party committees leading industry and party committees leading agriculture. At the Central Committee November (1962) plenum it was stressed that the structure of party organs based on the production principle makes it possible to ensure more concrete, systematic leadership of industry, construction, and agriculture and focus the main attention on production questions. This restructuring was expected to step up all aspects of party activity and link organizational and ideological work still more closely to the tasks of creating the material and technical base of communism. In fact

this measure led to the elimination of integrated party organizations and caused incredible confusion in the activity of the party and state apparatus. It was no accident that one of the first measures adopted after Khrushchev's removal from the post of first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee was the restoration of integrated party organizations.

Social Questions [subhead]

Looking back on the path the country trod in the fifties and sixties, we cannot fail to notice the major social program that was implemented during those years. Thus, for instance, it was on Khrushchev's initiative that the construction of panel and modular apartment blocks according to standard designs at house building combines began for the first time, and the name "Cheremushki" came to mean a new stage in housing construction. It was N.S. Khrushchev who was responsible for initiating the switch to a 7-hour working day for all workers and employees, and a 6-hour working day for those employed in the coal and ore mining industry in underground work. The 5-day working week with 2 days off was introduced; resolute steps were taken in the sphere of regulating pension provision. The scale of minimum pensions was increased considerably and unjustifiably high ones were reduced. Provision for the elderly was improved, as was provision for finding jobs for disabled people who could engage in socially useful labor without detriment to their health.

At the same time, in an atmosphere of constant eulogy, N.S. Khrushchev often overestimated his own powers and interfered in the resolution of questions requiring professional competence. Thus, for instance, on N.S. Khrushchev's initiative large warships were scrapped. When, on a visit to the United States, he was shown a large aircraft carrier, Khrushchev observed: "Warships are only good for making state visits. From the military viewpoint...nowadays they are only good targets for missiles! This year we scrapped our almost completed cruisers."

Culture [subhead]

N.S. Khrushchev's interference in the activity of the artistic intelligentsia had negative consequences. He very frequently gave categorical assessments of the works of writers, artists, and movie makers, and these assessments led to tragedies and broken human lives. M. Khutsiyev's movie "Ilich Post" ["Zastava Ilicha"], in Khrushchev's opinion, asserted ideas and norms of social life that were "unacceptable" and alien to Soviet people. Under Khrushchev the remarkable poet B. Pasternak was expelled from the Writers' Union. Subsequent experience demonstrated the total groundlessness of such assessments.

Conclusions [subhead]

Obviously, in assessing Khrushchev's activity in the post of first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the Soviet Government we cannot use only one color—white or black. Not for nothing did the sculptor E. Neizvestnyy, who was so savagely, cruelly, and unjustly criticized by Khrushchev himself, erect on the grave in the Novodevichye Cemetery a sculpture executed in marble of two colors—white and black. N.S. Khrushchev was indeed a complex, ambiguous figure. He was an energetic, intelligent politician and at the same time a man who was not indifferent to flattery and inclined to make hasty, ill considered decisions. Assessing N.S. Khrushchev's personality and activity as a whole, we may say that many bright pages of our history are associated with this man's name, although at the same time we cannot fail to see the mistakes he made in party and state activity.

Economic

'Negative Phenomena' Affect New Cooperatives

PM171545 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 12 Mar 88 p 3

[Own correspondent G. Dorofeyev article under the rubric "Polemical Comments on Cooperatives": "Loopholes for Self-Seekers"]

[Text] Donetsk—I have never envied what other people earn and have always believed that people should be paid according to the work they do. So, on finding out that people working at the Makeyevka "Donbass" Cooperative earn an average of R5,000 per month, my main interest was to learn for what exactly they are getting paid. Perhaps the goods produced by the Makeyevka craftsmen are miracles of art, I thought to myself, and I should not be surprised that they earn 10-15 times more than a miner or steel worker.

I learned at the meeting that the "Donbass" produces plastic clip-on earrings, bracelets, and haberdashery articles. These are low-grade products intended for immature teenage tastes.

Checking out the cooperative's work, inspectors from the Donetsk Control and Inspection Administration established that even in these conditions, when the cooperative is raking it in, as they say, Guzenko contrived to illegally pocket R699 and underpay three workers R4,105. The case was handed over to the investigative organs. However, the cooperative members immediately forgave the chairman his transgression. The case was dropped.

Guzenko is becoming an important figure in the rayon and also in the city. People try to curry favor with him. He is proud of the fact that the rayispolkom has asked him to foot the bill for some roofing slate.

"And pay it I will," he says, "I do not begrudge the money."

Until recently cooperatives were always written about in cheerful tones. I am not urging people to go to the other extreme. I think it is important now to look into their activity in a calm, businesslike way, support positive experience, and put a stop to speculative aspirations. As stressed at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum, we must mainly employ economic, tax-based methods in this respect and, of course, make use of glasnost. The main principle is that cooperative and personal income must be earned and determined by the quantity and quality of work.

There are 210 cooperatives in Donetsk Oblast. A total of 49 of them are engaged in the manufacture of consumer goods, 34 are responsible for public catering, more than 100 repair housing and domestic equipment, and the rest procure secondary raw materials and buy up surplus agricultural produce from the population and sell them.... The Donetsk "Lyuks" and "Uyut" Cooperatives have established a good reputation among the people of Donetsk. The former produces the latest fashions and the latter manufactures and repairs furniture that is out of the ordinary. The goods and services market has generally become richer in choice.

But in the oblast financial administration I was shown verification documents for the "Saturn," "Kalmius," "Ugolek," and "Sputnik" cooperatives.... The documents register numerous transgressions and mysteries concerning supply sources.... It has not been established, for example, where "Saturn" acquired 5 tonnes of cement, 385 kilograms of crushed mica, and a number of other materials. There are no documents for these purchases. The "Sputnik" Cooperative has had to be closed down because of financial transgressions. A major crime involving murder was committed at the Donetsk "Luch" Cooperative. An investigation is being conducted into the Dzerzhinsk "Vizavi" cooperative restaurant, whose chairman has his assistants beaten up if they expose his shady dealings.

"All this is causing serious concern," V. Stoyko, first deputy prosecutor for the oblast, said. "We obviously need to step up our monitoring of the situation in cooperatives."

This is by no means a simple matter, however. Many cooperative members believe they should be exempt from this kind of monitoring.

This is actually the case. People with dubious credentials pester soviet organs. They demand permission to open recording cooperatives, shashlik houses, and kiosks selling flowers and other things.

"But where will you get the flowers from?" N. Kulbatskiy, oblispolkom inspector, cautiously asked.

"What do you mean: Where will I get them from?" the potential cooperative member asked in amazement. "We will get them from Baku and Tbilisi."

A refusal to give authorization did not put him off at all. Later that day I caught sight of the "enthusiast" at the market with an armful of carnations.

"Come on, bud," he invited me, "we are giving them away. R2 per flower."

This really is a giveaway price. On the eve of 8 March one carnation like this would set you back R3-4. You only needed to bring two suitcases of flowers to go away with a sackful of money.

One group of operators were eager for a bank loan. The head of the group asked for a loan of R50,000.

"Why do you need this sum of money?" they asked him at the bank.

"I have to go to the Caucasus to get mandarin oranges," the client explained. "I will repay the loan on time."

There is no doubt about that. He will buy mandarin oranges in the Caucasus at R1 per kilogram and sell them in Donetsk for R3-4. He will pocket the difference. When they refused him the required amount he was offended. He said they were preventing him from developing. Suppressing cooperative initiative. Breaching the Law on Individual Labor Activity.

We need honest, working initiative, it was stressed at M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with the collective of the First State Ball Bearings Plant, and not the kind that is sometimes displayed by some cooperative members who exploit shortages to engage in blatant self-seeking activities.

At present the law does not in fact regulate the acquisition of profit. (Last year Donetsk cooperatives' revenue amounted to R4.7 million, while the income tax on this figure was a mere R79,000). You keep whatever you manage to lay your hands on. This is giving rise to stock-jobbing.

A real battle was played out last summer on the shores of the Azov Sea between the "Volna" state firm and licensed photographers, the majority of whom used to work for "Volna." The dispute arose over beaches, parks, and children's play areas. No one wanted to give them up. The matter ended in fights and mutual recriminations.

An oblispolkom representative was sent to the scene of the battle. However, 2 days of talks did nothing to appease the warring sides. With the approach of summer the battle on the shores of the Azov Sea will recommence with new force. The defeat of the "Volna" photographers is predetermined, however. This is why.

Most of those who have taken out patents have Japanese equipment, their own means of transport, and greater opportunities to acquire the necessary materials and

keep all the profit. As far as the collective of the "Volna" firm is concerned, their situation is completely different. They have to travel about on foot, the materials they have to use are not of the best quality, and the money they earn has to be handed over to the state. You do not have to be a prophet to be able to predict who will emerge the victor in the competitive struggle.

T. has developed an original form of work. He acquired a patent to repair domestic equipment. He does not repair it himself, however, but passes it onto the "Rembyttekhnika" Plant. This state enterprise has recently repaired dozens of domestic electrical appliances: 17 washing machines, 10 electric motors, pumps, irons, and so on and so forth. No one knows how much money he has pocketed that he has not actually earned himself. At the moment only one thing is clear. He is not helping this state enterprise to improve its public service, but the state enterprise is working so that he can get rich. Moreover, any attempts to somehow take this skillful entrepreneur in hand end badly for consumer services workers. In response to the objections raised, he himself has written more than 50 complaints to all the authorities he knows. I leafed through three hefty bundles of correspondence at the oblast consumer services administration.

"He has gotten the better of us," B. Kravtsov, chief of the oblast consumer services administration, said. "He is demanding we sell him spare parts and speed up the repair of motors and pumps. He is not on contract to us—we are on contract to him."

The indignation felt by B. Kravtsov is easy to understand. All the inspectors have a sympathetic attitude to T. He is a second-category invalid and must not be upset, they say. The fact that this invalid has a plant in his iron grip and is using a state enterprise for his own personal ends is somehow ignored.

Members of the "Raduga" Cooperative, who have set up business in the former private residence of Hughes, the English capitalist after whom Donetsk was once named [Yuzovo], are beginning to feel constrained by the law. There is clearly a disproportion between the amount of work done and the size of the wage packets.

"There are loopholes in the present legislation governing individual labor activity," B. Burchenko, head of the Donetsk Oblispolkom Department for Integrated Economic and Social Development, said, "which make it possible to use it exclusively for mercenary purposes. First of all, the small percentage of payments into the state budget provides the opportunity to acquire enormous profits. We will have our own millionaires any day now. I am sure the introduction of progressive taxation would be a step in the right direction. There are also some things that are not quite right in the resolutions on the formation of cooperatives. It is stated, for example, that cooperatives 'mainly' accept citizens who are not employed in the public sector. People think the word 'mainly' allows for exceptions to be made and so many of them have left the public sector. Finally, there must be strict controls on the quality of goods produced by cooperatives. The state acceptance system is in operation at enterprises manufacturing consumer goods, but here the 'green light' is given to entrepreneurs' inferior goods."

Much of what I was told by the people I spoke to is covered by the draft Law on Cooperative System in the USSR published a few days ago.

The cooperative movement will grow. It is important to forestall in good time the negative phenomena which are already making an appearance and support everything positive in the developing cooperative sector of the socialist economy.

'Excessive Centralization,' 'roducer Monopoly'

PM181149 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by N. Petrakov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, under the rubric "Topical Subjects": "Selling Should Be Harder Than Buying"]

[Text] The main result expected of the new economic management methods was a tangible improvement in production quality. Consumers are unanimous, however, that at present economic accountability [khozraschet] is having considerably less impact on quality than the state acceptance system. Moreover, against the background of self-financing, many enterprises and departments have launched a broad campaign to increase the prices of their goods and services. Some people are already beginning to say: Look, you see where a free-for-all market can lead! But the whole point is that there is no such market.

Economic independence for enterprises is unrealistic without a choice of suppliers and clients and without competition. The democratization of sociopolitical life presupposes the existence of and competition among different viewpoints; economic democracy can only be feasible if there is open, keen competition for customers. Winning customers means satisfying their needs to the maximum at affordable prices. For this situation to become reality, it is essential to guarantee equal rights for producers and consumers. In other words, the formation of an organized socialist market is on the agenda.

The producer monopoly is founded on excessive centralization, which manifests itself in two forms: organization and management, and production and technology. The former is based on the sector principle of managing state ownership and the underdevelopment of other forms of ownership (cooperative and state cooperative). The producer's interests come across as the departmental interests of the sector as a whole. In their present form the ministries are, in objective terms, the monopolists in every concrete sphere of production. They have no

reason to encourage economic competition among enterprises under their jurisdiction. Even more fantastic is the suggestion that in a conflict between their "own" enterprise and an "alien" consumer the ministries will take the side of the latter. The organizational forms of socialist competition which have evolved over the decades are clearly departmental in nature.

Administrative over-centralism has also left its mark on the production-technology structure. Capital investment policy has been geared to the formation of huge enterprises even in those sectors where the advantage of medium and small enterprises is obvious. Of course, in a number of cases large-scale production may ensure savings on prime costs and general overheads, but it is often incapable of adapting to the changing demands of clients and is unreceptive to scientific and technical innovations.

The organization of real economic competition presupposes a broad diversity of management structures and the possibility of establishing extradepartmental economic associations on a voluntary basis, proceeding exclusively from considerations of economic expediency. The appearance of new enterprises must not be the prerogative of "higher organs." Participation by state enterprises in cooperatives could also prove effective. By investing part of their profit in the development of production and consumer cooperatives, enterprises would contribute to the formation of really powerful cooperatives capable of efficiently solving economic tasks.

Of course, creating the conditions for economic competition is not limited only to the issues discussed above. But I would like to sharpen the focus of attention on these problems, because production quality and scientific and technical progress will only make leaps and bounds in our country when selling is harder than buying.

Import Duty Increase Rumor Untrue; Cuts Planned

PM221211 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS observer V. Ponomarev report: "Customs Duties: Facts and Rumors"]

[Text] It has been reported that draconian duties are being introduced on the importation of radio equipment and motor vehicles and on all consumer goods in general. This "sensation" spread rapidly and quite extensively. People were alarmed, and there were inquiries from Soviet institutions abroad, since the "news" concerns the interests of all our citizens working abroad.

These rumors, V. Bazovskiy, chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for State Custom Controls, said, are absolutely groundless, since there has been no increase on the aforesaid goods and none is planned.

Moreover, the duty scales for these and a number of other goods are being cut. In particular, the overall size of the duty levied on motor vehicles imported into the USSR is being reduced. The former restrictions making the right to acquire a motor vehicle dependent on a mandatory 2-year stay abroad have been lifted.

On the whole the state customs is resolutely going about reviewing the normative acts regulating its activity and—this is the main thing—the rights of citizens. Changes to the procedure for allowing goods and other property across the USSR state border and to the customs controls pertaining to international mail have already been prepared. Many formal bans have been lifted, and it is planned to expand the list of articles that may be sent by mail.

At the same time work is under way with ministries and departments to create a modern mechanism for customs and tariff regulations, one of the main components of which will be effective USSR customs tariffs with scientifically justified rates of duty on all types of goods.

Parts of this multifaceted work are already in their final stages, others are still being agreed. It is important that the positions of all sides are similar and that the main thrust of the forthcoming reforms in the sphere of customs duties and tariffs wholly corresponds with the course of democratizing Soviet society.

Economist on Management Composition, Utility

PM171351 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 11, 12-18 Mar (Signed to Press 10 Mar 88) pp 1-2

[Part one of interview with Doctor of Economic Sciences B. Milner, head of the Department of National Economic Management Theoretical Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, by journalist N. Zyatkov: "Management and the Managers"; boldface as published—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The 19th party conference will discuss the progress of the implementation of economic reform and questions of the democratization of society, including the democratization of national economic management. "It is necessary to learn to manage the processes of restructuring," M.S. Gorbachev noted, "and not to be afraid of any drawbacks or even mistakes in the implementation of the principal line of the party aimed at discarding the administrative-command method of management. The main thing here is to rely on people and to consult people and labor collectives."

[Zyatkov] Boris Zakharovich, I would like to open our conversation about the restructuring of management by clarifying who makes up the management apparatus? Some people believe the figure of 18 million which has been cited in the press repeatedly includes ministers, directors, and such like and that they are all, without exception, bureaucrats.

[Milner] The apparatus of state administration and economic management organs and management of cooperative and social organizations totals no more than 14 percent of the 18 million people cited.

The selfsame 18 million, or rather 17,718,000, people include 11.5 million enterprise and organization management personnel and more than 3.5 million engineers and technicians who are employed to service instruments and machines and also drivers of official vehicles, typists, operators, junior service personnel, security guards, and so forth.

So you can see that most of them are ordinary working people employed in the main production components.

[Zyatkov] Could you say something about the "upper echelon management people," those included in the 14 percent?

[Milner] As a reply to this question I would like to show you the following table, compiled on the basis of information supplied by the USSR State Committee for Statistics which features detailed data and shows their growth over a 10-year period.

Numerical Distribution of Management Apparatus Personnel at Different Levels (thousands)

	1975	1980	1985	1986
Total management organ apparatus personnel	1956	2231	2376	2366
Ministry and department management organ apparatus	1356	1531	1623	1604
of which: Union apparatus (including union apparatus of union republic ministries and departments)	96	104	107	108
Republic apparatus (including republic apparatus of union republic ministries and departments)	122	134	140	135
Apparatus of autonomous republic ministries, kray and oblast administrations, and ministry and department sections (excluding ispolkom apparatus)	217	251	280	282
Apparatus of okrug, rayon, and city administrations and ministry and department sections (excluding ispolkom apparatus) (see Footnote 1)	330	352	385	410
Apparatus of economic management organs (all-union and republic industrial associations, trusts, bureaus, etc) (see Footnote 2)	538	629	646	603
Apparatus of Supreme Soviet presidia	279	297	312	314
Courts and legal institutions	75	84	92	95
Apparatus of cooperative and public organization management organs	246	319	349	353

(Footnote 1) Including centralized bookkeeping offices of settlement and rural soviets.
(Footnote 2) The cited figures do not include construction trust apparatus personnel and transport and communications economic management organ apparatus personnel accounted for respectively as construction, transport, or communication workers (their number totaled 452,000 in 1985).

After the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum the growth of management apparatus personnel was arrested and a gradual reduction began.

Ministry and department apparatus personnel acount for 67 percent; soviet organ (supreme soviet presidiums and ispolkoms) personnel account for 13 percent; courts and legal institutions for 4 percent; and cooperative and public organization management organs for more than 14 percent of the total of management organ apparatus personnel.

Middle management—the economic management organ apparatus—constitutes the largest component (36.4 percent) within the ministry and department management organs.

[Zyatkov] How many ministries and departments are there in all in our country?

[Milner] At the inception of the USSR there were 10 union people's commissariats. In 1936 there were 18, in 1956 there were 52, and in 1979 there were already 64 union ministries. In subsequent years ministries were merged, others were abolished, and new ones were set up. As a result there are now 55 ministries at the center, plus the USSR Gosagroprom which is a multisector organ. When the other state organs for the management of the remaining spheres of social life are added to this, this figure approximately doubles.

[Zyatkov] This is without counting the ministries in the republics?

[Milner] Quite. There are around 800 republic ministries and departments in the country. On average there are some 30 ministries, 15 state committees, and 20 other departments in every republic.

[Zyatkov] So we have ascertained that there are essentially approximately 14 million managerial workers at the center and in the basic component (not counting 3.5 million engineers, technicians, typists, drivers, and so forth). This is still a large figure even for our vast country.

Our readers (one of the letters—from V. Terentyev, deputy director of Novokuznetsk Aluminum Plant—is published on page 3) complain that, despite the resolution on broadening independence, enterprises are "ringed" by numerous organizations, each of which requires statistical reporting.

[Milner] **We have 100 billion documents in circulation every year, and approximately 600 million man-hours are spent on filling them out.**

For example, a metallurgical combine with a complement of 25,000-30,000 workers receives 130,000-140,000 documents a year. The Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy alone sends it 3-4 kg of "papers" and two or three instructions or resolutions every day.

The enterprise's response to these and other instructions from above amounts to 100,000-120,000 "papers" a year. Despite clever decisions to abolish them, the directives which used to come from above in huge numbers when administrative methods ruled have in practice been preserved.

Measures are now being taken to reduce this flow. Some success is being achieved. **Whereas in 1986 there were 46,000 centrally planned indicators, last year there was half that number—22,000. In 1988 the flow will dwindle to a "trickle" and there will be just 3,500 indicators.** We shall see what we shall see, but for as long as management processes move only "vertically," and exclusively from top to bottom, until then the flow of reports will go from "below" to "above."

[Zyatkov] We now have as many accountants and bookkeepers in the national economy as engineers, technicians, and specialists. This is an abnormal correlation.

[Milner] At the same time, economic methods of management have been virtually inoperative, and accountants have become not analysts but counters. Economists make up one-sixteenth of the management apparatus—which, of course, is not very much under modern conditions. But under the command and edict system even they had just to "relay" the targets, indicators, and instructions coming from above.

[Zyatkov] It need hardly be said that all this affects the end results. I recall the following example. At a plant purchased from the FRG they had been expecting to achieve labor productivity no worse than West German workers. But alas... It turned out that the managerial superstructure in our plant had expanded many times over. Where they had one accountant, we have an entire accounts department; where they had a planner, we have a planning department, and so forth.

[Milner] Apart from the managerial "addition" in the form of an expanding apparatus, which had an acute effect on indicators, there are also production problems, particularly in auxiliary work operations.

In our country, unlike other industrially developed countries, we have roughly the same number of repair workers, transport workers, loaders, warehousemen, and so forth as basic workers. Therefore, we lose out greatly in labor efficiency.

So we must both mechanize labor and organize it better.

[Zyatkov] And reduce the superfluous apparatus. But when will the system of enterprise management start operating and become the norm? For the force of inertia is great, and no one wants to leave familiar places. Although, according to specialists' calculations, approximately 50 percent of managerial personnel can be painlessly transferred to vacancies, of which there are approximately 700,000 in industry alone in the country...

[Milner] As you know, **the apparatus of ministries and departments will be reduced by one-third on average**. In Moscow the cuts are affecting approximately 100,000 working people. What size of apparatus to have at an enterprise, who to have more of and who fewer—this must be dictated by the specific conditions and the interests of economy. **The apparatus must be economical, inexpensive, and flexible—and now this is all in the hands of the leader, in the hands of labor collective councils.** It is necessary to take risks and restructure. We have become so accustomed to routine executive activity that the word "risk," which is one of the most important elements of management, has quite gone out of use in our country. I have looked in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia, the Encyclopedic Dictionary, and the Philosophical Dictionary, and the word "risk" does not appear anywhere. Neither does the concept "enterprise" [predpriimchivost]... But people in many enterprises are still not conscious of their new role and, in individual cases, are even frightened of it. The result is that braking factors at enterprises are now merging with braking factors in higher organs and ministries.

Here is an example. The state order is considered a particularly important product of national economic significance. Everything else is direct ties. Thus, at a majority of light industry enterprises 100 percent of the output is covered by state orders, including, for example, an indicator such as "use of rags in sewn goods production." Under these conditions there is no room left for direct ties with trade or for the development of trade fairs. This is grounds for preserving the entire superfluous controlling superstructure.

[Zyatkov] But, Boris Zakharovich, appeals alone to take risks and not adapt the state order to one's needs will not get matters moving....

[Milner] It is undoubtedly necessary to create the necessary conditions and the economic environment: expand wholesale trade in the means of production and build the system of prices in a new way. We must not move away from the earlier adopted pledges for the 5-year plan. But,

at the same time, the person's moral restructuring is also necessary. If we do not want to get bogged down in mediocrity, defects, and distortions of socialism, we need innovation, dedication, and risk.

[Zyatkov] When speaking of getting rid of everything negative in the work of departments, you reach the following somewhat seditious thought: Perhaps they are not needed at all? For there are no ministries in the West, and nothing untoward happens: Industry develops.

[Milner] The state had, has, and will have a function in implementing and regulating economic activity. Because the state embodies the interests of the whole people. But the forms can change. We have chosen the ministerial system. In the twenties we had national economic councils, then they grew into people's commissariats, which grew into ministries, and then back to national economic councils.... A quest was under way. For no one had built socialism prior to us, and there were no prescriptions.

There is logic in creating a specialized ministry to develop a sector and strengthen the production, scientific, and technical base. But then the narrow sectorial approach becomes a brake. We must now break down departmental barriers to provide scope for technical progress. Therefore, in some cases it is necessary to amalgamate ministries, in others to eliminate them, and in yet others to redistribute functions radically.

If you compare the level of concentration in industrially developed capitalist countries with ours, ours is substantially lower. Our country does not have so many Kama Truck Plants, Gorkiy Motor Vehicle Plants, Likhachev Motor Vehicle Plants....

[Zyatkov] You would think, with our centralized system...

[Milner] Yes, 46 percent of our industrial enterprises have less than 200 working people. In the national economy as a whole there are 514,400 enterprises, establishments, and organizations. A tremendous number of them are small.

Incidentally, the Americans, for example, maintain that 20 times more innovations are usually created in small firms per dollar of expenditure than in large ones, and 4 times more than in medium-sized firms.

The chief thing is not to be trapped within a single form or to a single scale. Large organizational structures operating with full economic accountability [khozraschet] can embrace enterprises, science-and-production associations, construction organizations, educational and transport organizations, and service centers. On the basis of the voluntary principle ministries are now beginning to form such state production associations along self-financing lines. Both these and many other types of associations must be combined with enterprises and economic organizations on a medium and a small scale. This reflects the objective diversity of conditions, tasks, and kinds of activity.

New Airliner Assembly Process Begins

PM181137 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 15 Mar 88 p 4

[A. Pavlov report: "Another Airliner"]

[Text] Voronezh—The process of assembling the components of the new wide-body IL-96-300 airliner has begun at the Voronezh Aircraft Production Association. The aircraft is designed for long-haul passenger transportation. A total of 300 passengers will be able to be seated in comfort on the new airliner. The main feature distinguishing the new aircraft from its predecessor, the IL-86, is its smaller fuel consumption. This is the factor which gives the aircraft its long-haul flight capability—up to 11,000 km.

Agricultural

First Farmers Congress in 20 Years Opens 23 Mar

LD230841 Moscow TASS in English 0816 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—The 4th congress of members of agricultural cooperatives (collective farms) opened in the Kremlin today.

Mikhail Gorbachev general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed the delegates and guests of the congress with a major speech.

(The summary of Gorbachev's speech has been sent to subscribers as a separate item)

The previous congress of collective farmers was held in 1969. That such congresses have not been held for nearly 20 years reflects the fact that the role of collective farms have been underestimated. Chief emphasis has for long been placed in the agricultural sector on state-owned farms. Cooperatives were viewed as second-rate establishments in conditions of socialism.

The perestroyka, or restructuring, drive in the Soviet Union has changed the attitude to cooperative societies. Along with state enterprises they have been recognized as equal integral links of socialist economy.

This fact will be endorsed in the new Law on Cooperative Societies. The draft has been submitted for nationwide discussion. Debate on the draft law is an important item on the agenda of the collective farmers' congress.

Its delegates will also discuss a draft model statute of collective farms, a document that would set out general principles of their work.

The congress of collective farmers is expected to last three days.

Leadership Attendance Listed

LD230847 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0730 GMT 23 Mar 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers began its work in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow at 1000 this morning. Those gathered greeted with applause Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Gromyko, Zaykov, Ligachev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Solomentsev, Chebrikov, Shcherbitskiy, Yakovlev, Demichev, Dolgikh, Razumovskiy, Solovyev, Talyzin, Yazov, Baklanov, Biryukova, Lukyanov, and Medvedev.

The congress was opened on the instructions of the Union Council of Collective Farms by Nikolay Nikitovich Golovatskiy, chairman of the 40th October Anniversary collective farm in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast and twice hero of socialist labor.

Matters relating to accelerating the social and economic development of collective farms in the new conditions of management and the democratization of administration, to the draft Law on Cooperatives of the USSR, and to changes in the model rules of the collective farm, were submitted for examination by the Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers.

A new union council of collective farms will be elected. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is speaking to the collective farmers' congress now. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech and a report on the first day of the work of the collective farmers' congress will be transmitted in the Vremya news broadcast.

Gorbachev Addresses Congress

LD230806 Moscow TASS in English 0729 GMT 23 Mar 88

["Gorbachev Speaks to Collective Farmers' Congress"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—The most important mission of the 4th national congress of collective farmers, Mikhail Gorbachev said at its opening session in the Kremlin today, is to "make a real contribution to realizing the potential of socialism, use it to improve people's lives and develop their aptitudes".

Greeting the congress delegates and guests, the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee said the attention of all Soviet society is fixed on the collective farmers' forum as it will discuss highly important matters concerning the entire nation such as the cooperative movement, collective farms and all the agrarian sector.

Speaking of the perestroyka (restructuring) drive under way in the Soviet Union, he said that priority attention has begun to be paid to developing the material basis of social sphere, work has been launched along the priority lines of scientific and technological progress, and thorough-going structural changes are being effected in the national economy.

Gorbachev noted at the same time, however, that "there have proved to be more difficulties than originally expected. Too many problems have been let pile up and they have been ignored for too long."

The Soviet leader paid special attention to the draft Law on Cooperatives, which is to be debated at the congress. He described the teaching on socialist co-ops as "one of Lenin's brilliant discoveries".

It is the cooperative movement, Gorbachev explained, that has helped in many ways to overcome hunger and economic dislocation in the aftermath of the civil war, mend the financial and monetary systems, and get people more closely involved with the building of a new life.

But Lenin's innovative ideas on co-ops have subsequently been seriously watered down, Gorbachev added.

The development of the cooperative movement in present-day conditions, he said, is, on the one hand, a real result of democratization in society and, on the other, an important lever for furthering the democratic process and combatting administration by fiat and red tape.

Speaking of the agrarian sector, the Soviet leader noted that gross agricultural output in the country over the past two years has grown by nine percent, with the annual grain harvests in the current five-year period increasing by an average 30 million tons, meat production by 2.1 million tons and milk supplies by 8.2 million tons as compared with the previous five years (1980-85).

"Shifts for the better have started", but they are not yet sufficient, Gorbachev said, adding that this applies to livestock farming and the growing of fruits, vegetables and grain crops.

He said the Politburo of the party's Central Committee has decided to devote one of the forthcoming regular Central Committee plenums to discussing the whole gamut of issues concerning agrarian policy.

As the congress is to discuss the draft model statute of a collective farm, Gorbachev said it is important that its provisions, just like the draft law on co-ops, "reflect the substance of perestroyka and help further develop the cooperative movement in the country".

Draft Law Under Discussion

LD230908 Moscow TASS in English 0850 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—The draft Law on Cooperative Societies to be considered by the farmers at their national congress that opened here today was published for nation-wide discussion early in March.

It is directed at encouraging cooperative movement in the country. The draft endorses equitable interaction between the state and cooperative sectors of the economy.

Cooperatives are allowed to engage in foreign economic activity.

The law would sharply expand the rights of collective farms and other cooperative associations.

The delegates will also discuss a draft model statute of collective farms, a document defining general principles of their work.

In each collective farm, the statute would take into account local conditions.

The draft statute now under consideration differs drastically from the one now in effect: out of 61 clauses, only 8 remain unchanged. The essence of the changes is democratising the operation of collective farms.

Estonian Sovkhozes Form New Kolkhozes

PM171501 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent L. Levitskiy report: "Collectivization'88. A Number of Rural Labor Collectives in Estonia Are Proposing Turning Their Sovkhozes Into Kolkhozes. The Republic's Council of Ministers Is Helping Them Do So"]

[Text] Tallinn—I was an unexpected but very welcome guest for R. Viylu, director of the "Khayba" Sovkhoz, since I had come to the farm (located 45 km from Tallinn) straight from a session of the republic's Council of Ministers. It had discussed the question of the transfer of the buildings, installations, and other property of the "Alavere," "Khayba," and "Kungla" Sovkhozes in Kharyuskiy Rayon and another three sovkhozes in Tartuskiy Rayon to kolkhozes organized on the basis of these sovkhozes.

"What did they decide?" R. Viylu asked.

"To go ahead with the transfer," I reassured him. "They're giving you all the sovkhoz property for nothing."

What is happening? First people were transferred from kolkhozes to sovkhozes, and now it's "as you were."

...By local standards "Khayba" is a fairly large farm. It has 11,000 hectares of land. True, only half of this is agricultural land, and there is only 3,600 hectares of pasture. All this was once controlled by small kolkhozes which found it hard to make ends meet. When the opportunity presented itself they set up a sovkhoz. All the debts were transferred to the state. The state allocated funds and resources to help the farmers get on their feet.

"Khayba" specializes in milk, beef, and pork production. They sow oats, barley, and rye for forage.

There are also potatoes. But the land here is not that marvelous—it is below average for the region and its yield of around 200 quintals per hectare is inadequate. It would have been abandoned long ago, were it not for controls and orders from above. Grain farmers have an easier time. But all the income comes from milk and pork. Yields here are 4,200 kg per cow per year. Each kilogram represents a profit of nine kopeks. Beef production is marginally profitable. The sovkhoz' profitability level in 1987 was 26.6 percent, which is average for the rayon's sovkhozes. The other economic indicators are at approximately the same level or even slightly lower. In general, it was not the worst farm. Young specialists—recent graduates from the Tartu Agricultural Academy—were appointed to run it. The improved performance and growth of "Khayba" is their achievement: It was they who chose the somewhat unexpected way of achieving it. They asked to be turned back into a kolkhoz. For salaries?

"If I am elected kolkhoz chairman I will strive to ensure that people make a good living," R. Viylu said.

Together with him and Chief Agronomist N. Koppel we compared the results of the activity of kolkhozes in the rayon with the results of "Khayba." The profitability of "Khayba" is significantly lower and the prime cost of its meat is higher. Yet the sovkhoz workers are paid R2 more than the kolkhoz members, despite their less efficient work. So from the standpoint of personal interest and income it would be better to change nothing and benefit from the state coffers.

"But now sovkhozes are switching to full economic accountability and self-capitalization. There will be a big increase in responsibility. But our rights remain the same—the right to agree. There will be no self-capitalization with limited autonomy [samostoyatelnost]," I was corrected. "We are still being told what to sow and to whom we should sell what. Thus, at the end of last year we sold our underproductive livestock—which looked marvelous for the rayon plan figures.... We want to decide for ourselves how to work and spend what we earn. That is only possible under kolkhoz self-management."

The specialists have their own program. It envisages the creation of a consumer goods shop. This will allow pensioners, homemakers, and skilled people to earn extra money and invest it in stockraising, thereby boosting the sector's income. The democratic transformations in the economy are awakening interest in kolkhozes and cooperative forms of ownership. Even with today's restrictions economic managers feel more free with such setups. Considerable experience of life under the conditions of economic accountability has been accumulated here. The republic's kolkhozes produce more output per capita than the sovkhozes.

The republic's Council of Ministers is examining proposals to reorganize another 12 sovkhozes. These will probably not be the last. The right to choose between a kolkhoz and a sovkhoz, however, is the right of the collective itself. The Council of Ministers decides only how to transfer state property—on a paying or nonpaying basis. State property will be transferred to the future "Khayba" Kolkhoz for nothing since most of the sovkhoz had formerly been a kolkhoz.

Sovkhoz or kolkhoz—it is not just a change of label. The discussion at the Council of Ministers stressed the need for a sober and balanced approach. All the more so since the reorganization has a very tangible effect on the rayon and republic budgets: Income tax revenue will fall. This means there must be a compensation in the form of additional output.

Here is one other point made at the republic Council of Ministers session. Kolkhozes attract people because of their greater freedom of economic management. This means the democratization of sovkhoz production has clearly been inadequate.

Early March Weather, Crop Status Reviewed

PM211435 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 17 Mar 88 p 1

[Agrometeorologist N. Ignatova report: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] The weather remains warmer than usual on the USSR'S European territory. Conditions have been favorable for winter crop plants to finish wintering. In individual rayons of Vologda, Kostroma, and Perm Oblasts and the Bashkir ASSR rotting processes have been observed in winter grain crops, as they have been under a deep snow cover in only slightly frozen soil. The results of growing plant samples taken in the said rayons have shown that there is increased thinness of rye in individual fields. There is also thinness in fields of winter rye in the Baltic Region, Belorussia, and the Northwest Region, but chiefly owing to overwet soil in the fall and the frosts at the end of January.

The persistence of an icy crust close to the soil in fields in a number of oblasts of the Central and Central Chernozem Regions, as well as in northern rayons of Belorussia and the Ukraine and in Volgograd Oblast, remains an unfavorable factor for winter grain crops to finish wintering. Because this crust has lain there a long time (since December), there has been some dying of winter wheat plants in individual parts of the said territory.

Over most of the territory of Moldavia and of Odessa, Nikolayev, Kherson, and Crimean Oblasts and in Krasnodar Kray, where the maximum air temperature was 7-14 degrees, the soil thawed out completely. Winter grain crops and perennial sown grasses resumed growth there, although no appreciable growth has yet been observed. Only in Crimean Oblast and the south of Krasnodar Kray have young grass shoots grown to 1-5 cm high, and the state of the crops is mainly good. Fruit crops have emerged from their winter dormancy, and the spring biological processes have resumed.

In the farming regions of Siberia and over most of the territory of Kazakhstan it was cold only at the beginning of March. Winter grain crops in their zone of cultivation were under a snow cover more than 20 cm deep.

Warm weather continued in the Central Asian republics, particularly in the first 5 days of March, when the maximum air temperature was 20-27 degrees. It was cool only on individual days. Winter grain crops and perennial grasses were growing most days.

The warm weather has brought about the accelerated development of fruit crops and vineyards. In the south of Kirghizia, in Chimkent Oblast, and almost everywhere in the remaining Central Asian republics there was mass swelling and opening of apricot, cherry, plum, cherry-plum, apple, and mulberry buds. In the southern part of the Central Asian republics (except Kirghizia), apricot and cherry-plum trees have blossomed, but pollination conditions have been bad owing to rain. Damage to fruit trees and vineyards has been observed as a result of hurricane winds, duststorms, and blizzards in Chimkent, Dzhambul, and Kzyl-Orda Oblasts.

Scientific

'Cosmos-1934' Satellite Launched 22 Mar

LD231132 Moscow TASS in English 1124 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—The Soviet Union launched on Tuesday, March 22, another satellite of the Cosmos series to continue study of the earth's natural resources in the interests of various branches of the USSR's economy and international cooperation.

The satellite, Cosmos-1934, has been placed in orbit with the following parameters:

Initial period of revoluion—104.7 minutes.

Maximum distance from the earth's surface—1,021 kilometres.

Minimum distance from the earth's surface—967 km.

Inclination of the orbit—83 degrees.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

Incoming information is being transmitted to the state research and production centre Priroda (nature) for processing and utilisation.

Work Begun on Superfast Computer Microcircuits

LD221336 Moscow TASS in English 1000 GMT 22 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Scientists at the Physics Problems Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences hope to develop superfast microcircuits for computers on the basis of a discovery they have made. Moscow physicists have established in experiments that at temperatures approximating absolute zero (minus 273 degrees Celsius), it is possible to deposit materials on the substrate of a microcircuit and to progress their structure and physical properties in advance. In this way, it is possible further to perfect the microcircuits.

As one of the authors of the discovery, Igor Landau, doctor of physical and mathematical sciences, told a TASS correspondent, the experiments have been conducted using cadmium and bismuth. Atoms of these elements were first evaporated in a special furnace and then deposited on glass and polished sapphire. The scientists decided to place a kind of filter made of liquid helium cooled to almost absolute zero in front of the substrate. This filter is needed to reduce the speed of the atoms' movement and to force them into a predetermined spot on the substrate.

The experiments have shown that depending on the thickness of the layer deposited (and this is hundred-millionth parts of a meter) bismuth and cadmium can be dielectrics or superconductors. This effect can be very important in the manufacture of superfast microcircuit contacts, Igor Landau believes. According to the scientist, similar experiments will be set up in the institute in the future using other chemical elements.

Expert Responds to Public's Nuclear Power Fears

PM221123 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Special correspondent A. Ivakhnov interview with Academician N.N. Ponomarev-Stepnoy under the rubric "Returning to a Previous Article": "Safe Reactors"; date and place of interview not given—first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] The editorial office has received many reactions to the article "AES Today and Tomorrow" (No 343, 1987). The narrative by A. Lapshin, USSR deputy minister of nuclear power generation, has given rise to new questions relating to the safety of nuclear power stations. Since the bulk of the questions concerned the scientific and technical aspect of the problem, we have asked Academician Nikolay Nikolayevich Ponomarev-Stepnoy, deputy director of the I.V. Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute, to reply to them.

[Ivakhnov] After the accident in Chernobyl, people started paying more attention to reports about faults at nuclear power stations. Here is what Comrade Romanov from Barnaul writes: "Your newspaper reported that dangerous incidents occurred at U.S. nuclear power stations virtually every day. It is possible that there were fewer of them in our country, but we do not know how many—there was no glasnost...."

[Ponomarev-Stepnoy] This kind of newspaper report has caused me much concern lately. I get the impression that the aim is to cause "a head-on collision" between nuclear power workers and all those who can judge their work only from the sidelines. They make both sides irritable and give rise to intolerant views....

It is impossible to build a complex machine that would be entirely fail-safe. The question is whether any possible fault might lead to intolerable consequences. Most of the published reports refer to nuclear power station equipment failures which do not represent a danger for the station's personnel, much less for the population. However, when such accounts pile up one on top of another, and when the incidents are described as accidents, then naturally, the hair of readers stands on end as they imagine that every day they rise and go to sleep under the threat of a new global catastrophe!

Unfortunately, we do not always succeed in making our interlocutors understand that the likelihood of Chernobyl-type accident processes is negligible.

Your readers demand: Give us a guarantee that in the future reactors will be absolutely fail-safe! But no one will give them such a guarantee because this is impossible in nuclear, just as in any other, technology. The measures we are adopting to enhance safety are aimed at reducing the likelihood of accidents to the lowest possible level. In defining the necessary safety standards, we proceed from the premise that the damage to society from the utilization of nuclear energy, taking account of the small likelihood of accidents, must not be greater that the damage caused through the use of other power generation technologies.

[Ivakhnov] But there is also radiation, the level of which we can only guess at. What is your view of the proposal submitted by A. Mosichev from Kursk: "It is necessary in cities located in the vicinity of nuclear power stations to install instruments in public places which would show the level of radiation, and it ought to be possible to buy personal counters in stores."

[Ponomarev-Stepnoy] In order to answer this question and make sure that the public understands us and agrees with us, it is necessary for everyone to know exactly what radiation is, what sources of radiation there are, and what effect the various levels of radiation have on the organism. The population has little idea about these questions. I am in favor of the mass production of radiation counters, so that everyone can buy such an instrument for his own use. Let people verify in practice that even without the influence of atomic installations, we live in conditions of radiation. It comes from outer space; uranium, thorium, and other radioactive elements are contained in construction materials and in the self-same coal which we burn in large quantities at thermal power stations. In Moscow there is a certain level of radiation; in some mountain regions, and on flights at great altitudes, it is many times higher. If people had counters and were familiar with the maximum permissible doses of radiation, then there probably would not be the radiation phobia which IZVESTIYA recently reported. Feelings would not be running high when a failure at an AES is reported.

[Ivakhnov] Maybe A. Surtayev from Altay Kray has a point when he writes: "Weren't the nuclear power engineers being too hasty when they put into circulation first-generation reactors which are essentially experimental models of this equipment? Would it not have been better to first perfect the reactors and then develop the nuclear power industry?"

[Ponomarev-Stepnoy] No. After all, only experience makes successful progress possible. Take, for instance, the first flying machines. Do they resemble modern airliners at all? The reactors we possess today represent only the initial stage of the nuclear power industry. Their number today is small, but they are essential in order to gain experience, identify weak spots, and perfect the designs.

[Ivakhnov] After the accident at Chernobyl, stringent safety measures were adopted at AES. However, reader G. Kirkevich would like to know: "Have nuclear power industry workers taken into account 'emergency situations' in which nuclear power stations might feature as the main target of attack?"

[Ponomareve-Stepnoy] That, of course, is a very serious question. I recently visited nuclear power stations in the United States and the FRG. There the fear of a terrorist attack has increased out of all proportion. There are considerably more security guards than technical personnel. True, in our country these stations are also guarded. Technical devices to counter malicious interference are also being developed.

AES are protected from external influences by special casings. These can withstand not only pressure from within in the event of an accident but impact from outside caused by aerial attack, hurricane, or bomb explosions.

An alternative solution to protect nuclear power stations from external influences is their location underground. This is not a new idea, but it has not been widely adopted in the world. It leads to additional complex engineering problems, and the underground construction of a power station can lead to a 25-100 percent increase in cost. Proposals for the underground location of AES are being studied; however, it would be premature to draw definitive conclusions about the need for their acceptance.

[Ivakhnov] We have mentioned the current, first-generation reactors. What will the next ones be like?

[Ponomarev-Stepnoy] We are trying to develop a reactor in which undesirable processes occurring as a result of human error or failures within the reactor itself and in the auxiliary systems would be countered mainly through specially selected internal qualities—nuclear and technological features. The preferability of this approach resembles the widely accepted principle that it is better to treat the causes than the symptoms of an illness.

The enhanced safety of nuclear power generation and development of safer reactors is one of the most important spheres of activity of the I.V. Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute.

We are not alone in thinking about this. In the FRG, for instance, some time ago an association for the development of new-generation reactors was established. When, after the accident in Chernobyl, M.S. Gorbachev declared our readiness to cooperate in questions of nuclear power industry safety, this association immediately contacted the Soviet Embassy, and one of its representatives came to our country. We have now been working together for almost a year, getting used to each other, coordinating the technical and scientific work in this sphere conducted in our countries, and elaborating proposals for the joint construction an experimental reactor. Other FRG and U.S. firms have also expressed interest in cooperation.

[Ivakhnov] And now one of the difficult and very acute questions—that of the selection of construction sites and the location of nuclear power stations.

"If a public opinion poll were carried out," Comrade Ivanov from Minsk believes, "most people would vote against the construction of nuclear power stations in the vicinity of major cities. These stations should be built in the depths of the taiga. After all, we are laying gas pipelines, so shouldn't it be possible to transmit electricity from the taiga?" The letters say that the public is indignant; it protests, but no one takes any notice. Power engineers are building nuclear installations wherever it suits them....

[Ponomarev-Stepnoy] The authors of the letters do not believe in the justified reasons—and perhaps they are not even familiar with the norms, accepted in our

country, that have to be complied with—in the siting of nuclear power stations. They probably do not know either that these demands have been tightened even further after the Chernobyl accident. In most foreign countries, restrictions as regards the siting of nuclear power stations do not even exist.

Recently a decision has been adopted on the suspension of the construction of the Minsk and Odessa nuclear thermal power stations, whose sites were located too close to big cities. Both public opinion and the failure to comply with tighter regulations concerning the distance from big cities were taken into account. However, the arguments of some of our opponents on the lines of "why build here, build elsewhere" cannot be taken seriously.

I would like to stress again and again: In order to prevent this kind of statement, in order to prevent ourselves and the public's ending up "on opposite sides of the barricade," what is needed is glasnost in our actions: information about our work rather than frightening reports.

Unfortunately, we still lack full contact with the public. Yet this is the main precondition to ensure that nuclear power engineers and those who are critical of the nuclear power industry are not afraid of each other but learn to understand each other.

Military

'Majority' of Armed Forces Support INF Treaty

PM221243 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Army General V. Arkhipov by G. Alimov under the "Names and Events" rubric: "Army Gen V. Arkhipov: What is Needed Is Not Ostentatiousness But Service..."; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium recently conferred the title of army general on the commanders of two military districts—Moscow and Turkestan. Your IZVESTIYA correspondent now talks with V. Arkhipov, commander of the Moscow Military District.

Vladimir Mikhaylovich Arkhipov, born in 1933, is a graduate of the Tashkent tank school and began his military service as a platoon commander. He commanded the Kantemir Division. He graduated from the Armored Troops Military Academy and the Academy of the General Staff. He headed the staff of the Central Asian Military District and commanded the Transcaucasus District. He is a member of the CPSU Central Committee and a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy. He has two sons.

[Alimov] You are the 20th commander of the Moscow Military District to date. Who were your predecessors?

[Arkhipov] The Moscow Military District's first commander was Great October Revolution veteran Nikolay Ivanovich Muralov. At various times the district was commanded by Commander First Class Uborevich, Commander Second Class Kork, Marshals of the Soviet Union Voroshilov, Budennyy, Shaposhnikov, Meretskov, Moskalenko, and Krylov, and Army Generals Tyulenev, Beloborodov, Ivanovskiy, and Govorov. I took over 3 years ago from Army General Petr Georgiyevich Lushev. Incidentally, the district will be celebrating its 70th anniversary on 4 May. The decree on its creation was signed by Vladimir Ilich Lenin himself.

[Alimov] Do you regard the military leadership and personal qualities of those men you named in the same way?

[Arkhipov] That is an unexpected and complex question. It is hard to say. I knew many of them solely from textbooks and from their military work. But one thing is beyond doubt: They all played their part in my upbringing.

I know that in many publications nowadays doubt is being cast on the role of Voroshilov and Budennyy in the strengthening of the country's defense capability. At the same time some people for some reason are simply trying to overlook the merits of those people. I think that is unfair. Yes, they made mistakes. But why negate everything when talking about them? I personally do not understand that. That annoys me.

[Alimov] Different opinions are being expressed both in our country and in the United States about the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. What opinions have you heard expressed among our military men?

[Arkhipov] Yes, they also have various viewpoints. Some think we are weakening the country's defense capability by the unequal reduction of those missiles. They think we do not need a treaty like that. This is probably due to the specific nature of the work that military men do, the old mentality and stereotypes of the old thinking. But the majority of military men support the treaty.

[Alimov] What is your viewpoint? As a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy will you vote "for" or "against" it?

[Arkhipov] I have closely studied the documents which have been signed. My conclusion is that the treaty really does not infringe our interests. I support the treaty, both as a soldier and a deputy.

[Alimov] In many civil organizations and institutions there is a cadre change in progress, the age level of cadres is falling. In your view, is such a change not necessary in the Army as well?

[Arkhipov] This problem is not so acute for us at present. The age limit for officers is determined by the Statute on Military Service. It has been tested by time and has fully justified itself. In my view it makes sense to combine experience and youth in the Army now—and also in our district.

[Alimov] Much is now being written and said about the Army, sometimes not very complimentary things. To judge from the mailbag some of our readers harbor a certain concern about the combat readiness of our Armed Forces. What answer would you give them?

[Arkhipov] Our Army is an army of the people and for that reason the people are entitled to call it to account and demand the highest readiness to defend the fatherland. There is an active process of renewal under way in the country, and the Army, too, is undergoing restructuring with all the difficulties and unresolved questions that entails. There is much to be reviewed and reconsidered. We criticize ourselves on many questions. With good reason. But that is no reason to doubt the high combat readiness of our Armed Forces.

[Alimov] Does a commander often have the opportunity simply to meet with the soldiers?

[Arkhipov] I make many visits to military subunits—for classes, in the field, on the training ground, at exercises, and on the shooting ranges. My colleagues and I see the basis of our work there. Only then do you really check out your decisions in practice. Only then do you know what life is like for army people, what they are doing, what they need. Army problems and tasks, whatever they may be—great or small—cannot be resolved by orders alone or by bawling people out. You have to explain to people, clarify things, consult with them. Our people are the salt of the earth, they are outstanding!

[Alimov] Comrade Army General, what is the main demand that you are making today on the troops under your charge?

[Arkhipov] The demands of constant high combat readiness still stand. But in everyday life the main demand is to ensure real results in both combat and political training now, tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow, not at the end of the year or at some other date, and to ensure that they are built up gradually as we go along. Real work must not be replaced by percentages or mere glowing reports. It is not ostentatiousness that we need but service. That is how it should be—with firm regulation order.

[Alimov] In addition to you, Colonel General Popov has also received the rank of army general and Admiral Sorokin has been promoted to admiral of the fleet. Do you know those men?

[Arkhipov] Yes. I have known Nikolay Ivanovich Popov a long time. We have served together. We are friends. He is now commander of the Turkestan Military District. I know Aleksey Ivanovich Sorokin well, too—he is now first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. It is a great honor for me to be promoted to the next rank along with them.

Leningrad District Hears Yazov Jubilee Speech

PM211437 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[Report by correspondents Colonel V. Streltsov and Captain 1st Rank A. Zlydnev: "Loyalty to Glorious Traditions. 70 Years Since the Order of Lenin Award to Leningrad Military District"]

[Excerpts] Leningrad Military District.... Its creation and organization are inseparably linked with V.I. Lenin's name, Petersburg's heroic working class, the first Red Guard detachments which stormed the Winter Palace, and the Communist Party's entire activity in building the Soviet Armed Forces.

Order No 1 on the Petrograd Military District, issued 20 March 1918, read: "In connection with the organization of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, rayon representatives have established a Petrograd District Collegium of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army under the Petrograd Okrug...." This historic document marks the birthday of one of the oldest military districts in the Soviet Armed Forces, 70 years old today.

A festive meeting marking this memorable date was held at Leningrad District's S.M. Kirov Officers Club. The meeting presidium consisted of Yu. Solovyev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Leningrad CPSU Obkom first secretary; Army General D. Yazov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR defense minister; Army General A. Lizichev, Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate chief; N. Popov, Leningrad Oblispolkom chairman; A. Gerasimov, Leningrad CPSU Gorkom first secretary; P. Telepnev, Arkhangelsk CPSU Obkom first secretary; I. Nikulin, Novgorod CPSU Obkom first secretary; Yu. Pogorelov, Pskov CPSU Obkom first secretary; S. Serokurov, Murmansk CPSU Obkom second secretary; and K. Filatov, Karelian ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

The presidium also included representatives of the heroic city's working people, Civil War and Great Patriotic War veterans, and the heirs of the heroic traditions—today's defenders of the fatherland's northwest borders.

The festive meeting was opened by Lieutenant General Yu. Pavlov, member of the military council and chief of the military district political directorate.

A report was read by Colonel General V. Yermakov, military district commander.

Yu. Solovyev addressed the meeting participants and the military district's servicemen with words of greeting on behalf of party and soviet organs from the city and oblast and other oblasts from the Northwest and the Karelian ASSR. He dwelt on some topical questions of restructuring the activity of party organizations in the oblast and at the labor collective level, and also in the military district's units and subunits.

The festive meeting was addressed by Hero of Socialist Labor poet M. Dudin, participant in the defense of Leningrad; Admiral V. Samoylov, commander of the Leningrad Naval Base; and Lt Gen A. Viktorov, commander of the Northwest Border District.

The participants in the festive meeting were greeted by young servicemen from the military district, seamen, border guards, pupils from the Suvorov and Nakhimov Military Schools, young army servicemen, and representatives of fraternal armies from the socialist countries.

Army General D. Yazov took the floor. He read a greetings message to the military district's personnel and veterans from the USSR Ministry of Defense and the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

On this day, the past and the present, history and reality were present in their unbreakable unity in the halls of the Officers' Club. It is noteworthy that the enlistment of volunteers for the Red Army's first regular units took place in this same building 70 years ago.

Many participants in the festive meeting recall the unfading feats by the city's defenders, the fighters and commanders of the Volkhov and Karelian Fronts, the Baltic fleet, and the Ladoga Naval Flotilla. They included representatives of all nations and ethnic groups in our great motherland; the whole country helped the city of Lenin, the cradle of the revolution, to endure and win victory.

Today's generation of Leningrad servicemen fittingly carries the baton of selfless service to the motherland. Today, like all Soviet servicemen, they consider that active participation in restructuring is their frontline duty. [Report of Yazov remarks ends] [passage omitted]

Yes, times are such that even on festive occasions it is necessary to talk about shortcomings and unsolved problems, so that the jubilee becomes an occasion for a strict review of loyalty to the behests of the elder generations and of readiness to reliably defend October's gains. It is in this militant and working mood that Leningrad servicemen are celebrating the 70th anniversary of their military district.

Lushev Speaks to Defense Ministry Sports Group

PM170932 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Zhitnikov report: "New Targets Set"]

[Excerpt] An extended session of the USSR Defense Ministry Sports Committee was held over 2 days at the training base of the Army Central Sports Club, with the participation of first deputy commanders in chief of branches of the Armed Forces, first deputy commanders of military districts, groups of forces, and fleets, first deputy chiefs of political directorates of branches of the Armed Forces, military districts, groups of forces, and fleets, and also experts in Army and Navy physical training and sports.

In the course of the session a report was delivered by Army General P. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister. The report analyzed the results of the performance of Soviet Armed Forces sportsmen at the Winter Olympics in Calgary and the course of the training of Army and Navy sportsmen who are candidates for participation in the 24th Summer Olympics. Particular attention was devoted to how the new Instruction on Physical Training in the Soviet Army and Navy (NFP-87) is being put into practice. [passage omitted]

Solovyev Views Leningrad Tank Exercise

PM211233 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[Report by Colonel P. Aleksandrov: "Tankmen's Skill"]

[Text] Leningrad Military District—On the threshold of the district's 70th anniversary the servicemen of a unit which during the war took part in the fighting for Leningrad passed a crucial test of combat maturity.

The very rugged wooded swamp terrain concealing perfidious traps under the snow for the heavy vehicles did not prevent the tankmen from successfully completing a march of many kilometers and reaching the attack line within the specified period.

To develop the offensive, the battalion under the command of Guards Lieutenant Colonel G. Arkatov was brought into battle on the most crucial sector. The company of Senior Lieutenant V. Buslayev was in a difficult position. It had to overcome a sector of very rugged terrain and strike the "enemy" on his flank. The tankmen coped with this task, attacked the "enemy" at high speed, and with their well-aimed fire hit the overwhelming majority of fire positions in the "enemy" strongholds.

Colonel General V. Yermakov, commander of the district, assessed the tankmen's skill highly and noted their skillful collaboration with the artillery and motorized troops.

At the decisive moment of the exercise the tankmen's actions were observed by Yu. Solovyev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Leningrad Party Obkom first secretary.

He visited the garrison where the servicemen of the renowned unit live and talked with officers and ensigns and members of their families. He described the progress of restructuring in Leningrad City and Oblast and the crucial tasks which the Leningrad party organization is resolving in preparing for the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

Lizichev Addresses Veterans Council Session

PM211251 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Mar 88 Second Edition p 2

["Our correspondent" report: "Veterans Are the Party's Active Helpers"]

[Text] The talk about veterans' participation in the education of young people in the Soviet people's glorious revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions initiated at the 17 March scientific and practical conference was continued the next day at the plenum of the All-Union Council of War and Labor Veterans.

The report delivered at the plenum by K. Mazurov, chairman of the All-Union Council of War and Labor Veterans, and the speeches delivered by V. Mironenko, Komsomol Central Committee first secretary, V. Klokov, and others discussed ways and methods of improving the work of veterans' organizations locally in shaping Communist awareness in young people and bringing them as close as possible to the tasks of restructuring. The war, labor, and armed forces veterans are people with great experience of life who enjoy enormous prestige among the people and stand at the sources of very important historical events, the plenum noted, and they must become the party's active helpers in improving young people's labor, military, and patriotic education.

The plenum was addressed by Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.